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CHAPTER IX.

OF TREES AND FRUITS.

<i>Hacking</i> . Wood, a wood.	<i>Undaque Aani, jãni Aana</i> . That is the way.
<i>Oromat hácking nijr taan</i> . I am going far off into the woods.	<i>Hacchiháckan</i> . To plant.
<i>Skæckung</i> . Rush, and what grows on the sea-shore.	<i>Mamantickan</i> . Peach, Plum.
<i>Hættog</i> . Tree.	<i>Mamantickan tackan</i> . Peach or plum tree.
<i>Sikáttag</i> . Cedar tree.	<i>Schíntach</i> . Pumpions.
<i>Choo</i> . Pine tree.	<i>Shíjtamen</i> . Water melon.
<i>Sijmi Táckhan</i> . Walnut tree.	<i>Sikáttag mijn</i> . Juniper.
<i>Tackquiménsi</i> . Black walnut.	<i>Opjimi</i> . Chestnut.
<i>Náckán Tackhan</i> . Oak.	<i>Sijmi</i> . Walnut.
<i>Sállsenbras</i> . Sassafras.	<i>Mijn Mijne</i> . Cherry.
<i>Táhkan</i> . Wheat.	<i>Skippo</i> . Parsnips.
<i>Quiskhaamen Táhhkan</i> . To cut wheat.	<i>Jésquem, Jæskung</i> . Turkish wheat, (Indian corn.)
<i>Tuppanáckhan</i> . Chips.	<i>Nackin</i> . Acorn.
<i>Neckeck</i> . Bark.	<i>Höppensæ</i> . Turnips, onions, and the like.
<i>Hácking</i> . Earth.	<i>Napan, Nopwring, Scháta eck siatá</i> . Tobacco.
<i>Skijk</i> . Grass such as is found in the woods, and grows very nigh.	<i>Hicka oraaton unnar</i> . Keep this, preserve this.
<i>Aana</i> . Way.	<i>Nijr ræie Kítzi</i> . I speak the truth.
<i>Pámsha</i> . Go slowly, gently.	
<i>Schaméra</i> . Run.	
<i>Mochæærích shaméra</i> . Run hard.	

CHAPTER X.

NUMERALS.

<i>Ciutte</i> , - - - - 1.	<i>Pareenach</i> , - - - - 5.
<i>Nissa</i> , - - - - 2.	<i>Ciutas</i> , - - - - 6.
<i>Nácha</i> , - - - - 3.	<i>Nissas</i> , - - - - 7.
<i>Næuwo</i> , - - - - 4.	<i>Haas</i> , - - - - 8.

<i>Pæschun,</i>	- - - -	9.	<i>Atack Haas,</i>	- - -	18.
<i>Thææræn,</i>	- - - -	10.	<i>Atack Pæschun,</i>	- - -	19.
<i>Atack Kiutte,</i>	- - - -	11.	<i>Atack Thææræn,</i>	- - -	20.
<i>Atack Nissa,</i>	- - - -	12.	<i>Nissinaake,</i>	- - -	Idem.
<i>Atack Næcha,</i>	- - - -	13.	<i>Nissinaake Ciutte,</i>	- - -	21, &c.
<i>Atack Næuwo,</i>	- - - -	14.	<i>Ciutábpach,</i>	- - -	100.
<i>Atack Porenach,</i>	- - - -	15.	<i>Ciutabpach Ciutte,</i>	- - -	101.
<i>Atack Guttas,</i>	- - - -	16.	<i>Ciutabpach Nissa,</i>	- - -	102.
<i>Atack Nissas,</i>	- - - -	17.	<i>Éc.</i>		

CHAPTER XI.

PIJRI SIMÆCKAN, OR DIALOGUES.

Næe itta. Come here.

Checkæ táiman? What will you have?

Tuan Kæmæn? Whence come you?

Utarijo oromat. A great way from hence.

Keko pættøn. What do you bring with you?

Jæs Pætton, mochi Erick hwijs hatte. I bring meat which is fat enough.

Kékæ taiman? What will you have for it?

Zææband ætticke. Perhaps money.

Mijrikan. We will barter.

Kékæ kommijre? What will you give in exchange?

Aquijvan. Cloth.

Pææickan. A Knife.

Tamhichan. An axe.

Hyperænn. A hatchet.

Massáppi. Beads.

Etzkans. Needles.

Chékæ rænsæ? How do you call that?

Matta nooto. I don't know.

Tacktaan. What are you doing? Take care.

Natahwirsi. (I am going) a hunting.

Tuan Atappi? Where is the bow?

Wiching hatte. In my cabin, in my house.

Ættichemacha Atappi. May be I can have two or three bows.

Pomuttamen cijr? Will you shoot?

Moshjuttamen. I have shot.

Pææt jas. Will you let me have meat.

Máramæn. I will buy of you.

Mah. Here it is.

Mátta hærítt. It is not good.

Mátta rítti. It is good for nothing.

Simáchat. It smells bad.

Kotz máttæ bachittan? Why did not you throw it away?

Kípatz. Yes, exactly as you say.

Mátta nijr Sinkattan. No, I won't do th at.

Kotz máttæ miraana? Why don't you give it away?

Máramæn. No, I will sell it.

Mátta checco maramæn. You will find nobody to buy it.

Ættiche? How do you know?

Narráhwo rankunti. I make you a present of it.

Chékæ nijr mijre? What shall I give you for it?



C. H. Metzger
118. v. 44

MEMOIRS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

94168

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

VOL. III.



62

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1834.



C. H. Metzger
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MEMOIRS

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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OF

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VOL. III.

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Philadelphia:

MCARTY & DAVIS, No. 171, MARKET STREET

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1834.

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A
SHORT DESCRIPTION
OF THE
PROVINCE OF NEW SWEDEN.
NOW CALLED, BY THE ENGLISH,
PENNSYLVANIA, IN AMERICA.

COMPILED
FROM THE RELATIONS AND WRITINGS OF PERSONS WORTHY OF CREDIT,
AND ADORNED WITH MAPS AND PLATES.

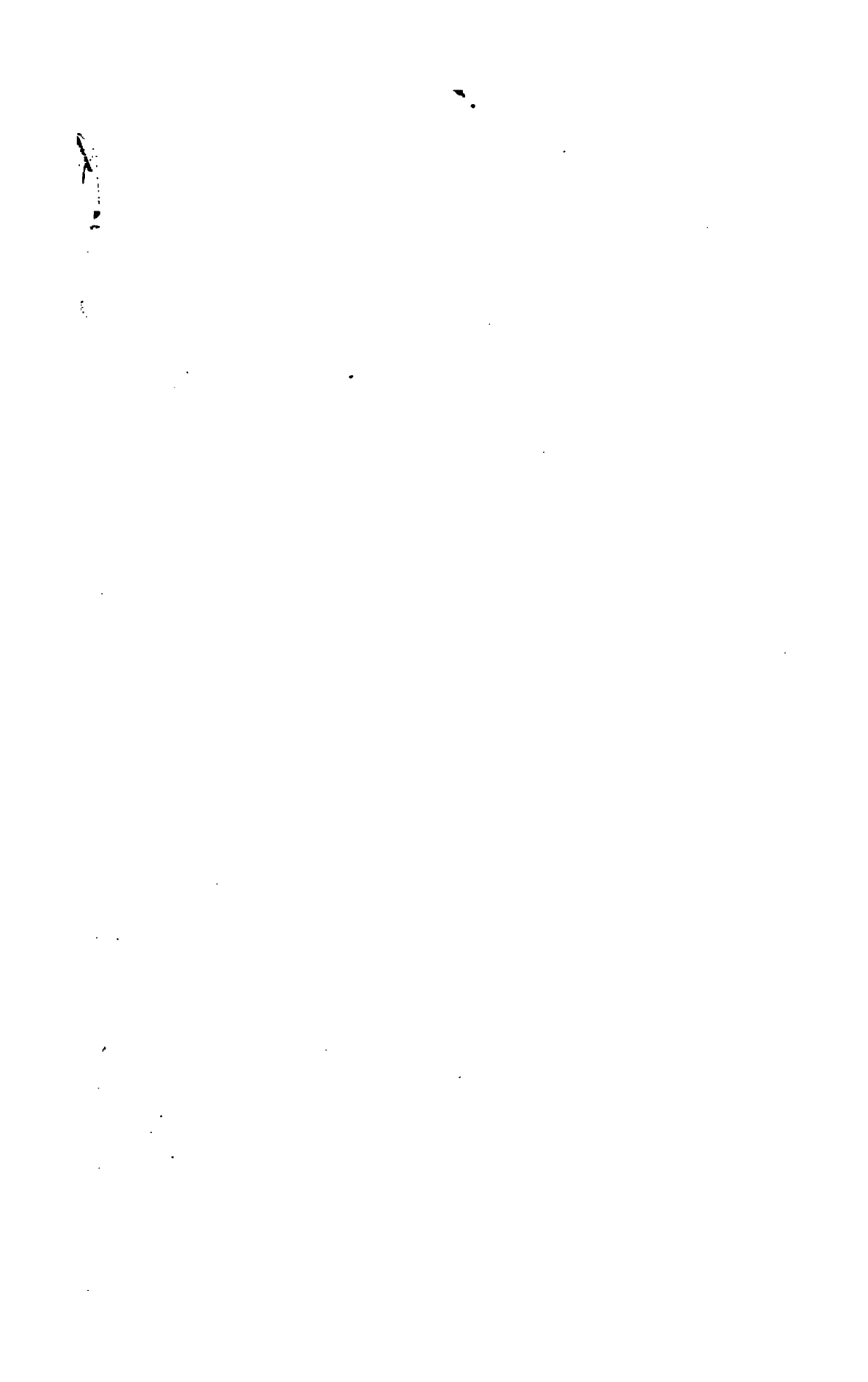
BY **THOMAS CAMPANIUS HOLM.**

TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH,
FOR THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

WITH NOTES.

BY **PETER S. DU PONCEAU, LL. D.**

President of the American Philosophical Society, Member of the Royal Academy of
History and Belles Letters of Stockholm, and one of the Council of
the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



AT a meeting of the COUNCIL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, held December 18th, 1833, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Council are due to *Mr. Du Ponceau* for the promptitude with which he has complied with their invitation to translate from the Swedish, the ancient and curious history, by *Campanius*.

Resolved, That the judicious notes and interesting appendix, with which the learned translator has accompanied his version, render it a rich accession to our stock of historical antiquities.

From the Minutes,

J. R. TYSON, SECRETARY.

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ERRATUM.

Page 46, line 1st and 2d, of the notes; for "Quaquawakee," read, Quaquanaku, (pronounced, KWRA-KWEN-AW-KOO.)

DIRECTIONS FOR THE BOOK-BINDER.

1. The Map of the Bay and River Delaware, to face *page* 46
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THE

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE book, of which we offer a translation to the public, from a copy kindly lent to us by the Library Company of Philadelphia, was printed at Stockholm, in the year 1702, under the patronage of Charles XII., to whom it is dedicated. Nothing is known of the author, except that his grandfather, the Rev. John Campanius Holm, was a minister of the gospel, who accompanied Governor Printz, as his Chaplain to America, in the year 1642, and remained here six years as pastor of the Swedish churches; during which time he learned the Indian languages, so that he was able to translate Luther's Catechism* into the idiom of the Lenni Lenape, or Renappi, as they were then called: some of the tribes making use of the letter R, where others employed the letter L, which is not uncommon among different tribes of the same Indian nation. It is also known that our author's father was likewise in this country, at the same time with his grandfather; but we are not told in what capacity.

* This catechism was printed at Stockholm, in Delaware and Swedish, in the year 1696, in one volume of one hundred and sixty pages, 12mo; at the end of which is a vocabulary, which our author has inserted in this work, with dialogues, &c. There is a copy of it in the library of the American Philosophical Society, and one in the translator's private library.

It is remarkable that a subsequent writer on the history of New Sweden, of whom we shall presently have occasion to speak, although he sometimes quotes our author's work, does not number his grandfather among the ministers of the Swedish congregations, whose pastoral services he records; His silence, however, is not sufficient to contradict what our author says of his father and grandfather, which is confirmed by the work which the former has left behind him, and also because Acrelius, the writer we are speaking of, takes up the history of his church only from the year 1655, and speaks but slightly of the ecclesiastical affairs of the preceding period, although he is very full and particular as to the political history of the country.

It does not appear that our author ever was in America: he does not, in any part of his book, speak of his own knowledge. His information is derived from the notes or memoranda left by his grandfather, and from the verbal accounts which he received from his father; to which he has added those which he derived from the writers who preceded him, and particularly from the manuscript relation of the Swedish engineer, Peter Lindström, or Lindheström, which is deposited in the Royal Archives at Stockholm.

We cannot say much in praise of this author's talents as a writer; nor of his judgment or sound criticism. Many of the things which he relates, will justly be considered as fabulous. But at the time when he wrote, this country was but little known, and those who visited it were fond of relating wonderful stories, which seem to have obtained general credence. When we read many of the books written in those days on the subject of America, we think we are reading the accounts of Africa, given by those ancient writers whose works are reviewed or analyzed by the Patriarch Photius, in which we find men without heads and other similar monsters. Here we find, not men, it is true, but fishes,

that have no heads, and which have only four guts, by means of which they receive and eject their food; and the manetto fish, that spouts up water like a whale. We have also a prophetic grass, by means of which a sick man may know whether he will die or recover. Besides these and other fables of the like kind, our country is peopled with black and white Indians, with lions, hares, sea spiders, large as tortoises, nightingales, and other animals that are known not to exist in this part of the world, as if every country ought to have fables connected with its early history.

Did this book contain nothing else than these fabulous recitals, it would not be worth the trouble of translating it; except, perhaps, to serve as an example of the credulity of mankind, and to show what strange opinions were entertained of our country, within less than a century and a half of the present period. But there are other matters in it which are truly interesting. Such, for instance, as the description of the country once called New Sweden, at the beginning of the last century, so different from what it is at present, that the location of numerous creeks, points of land, towns and other places well known in those days, and the names of which have been preserved, can no longer be accurately determined. It is curious to see the now famous cities of Philadelphia and New York, described as *clever little towns*, as they were in fact at that time. The political history of the country, from the first settlement of the Swedes to the arrival of William Penn, and for some time afterwards, is not the less replete with interest for the present inhabitants of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, as well as that of the habits, manners, and customs of the Swedes and Dutchmen, who inhabited this country before us. Nothing can be more truly moving, than the account given of those patriarchal times by the venerable pastor Erick Biörk, in his letters to his friends in Sweden, of

to that now presented to the public; to which, however, as being the oldest, the preference has, for the present, been given. We have extracted from it, in the form of notes, the modern names of many of the places, the Swedish and Indian names of which are given by Companius; which, it seems, the latter was not acquainted with, or did not think proper to explain, and we have taken from that work a list of the names of the Swedish families which resided on the Delaware, in the year 1693, with the number of individuals contained in each, which will be found as an appendix at the end of this translation. We have thought that it would be interesting to the descendants from those families, of whom we believe there are many in this country.

We ought to observe here, that several of those families have changed their names, in order to bring them within the analogy of the English language. Thus, *Bengtson*, has been changed to *Bankson*; *Hulling* to *Fulling*; *Gostafson* to *Justisson*; *Kyn* to *Keen*; *Coln* to *Cullen*; *Hesselius* to *Issilis*; *Colsberg* to *Colsberry*; *Van Neman* to *Van Nimmen*; *Diedrickson* to *Derrickson*; *Hendrickson* to *Henderson*, &c. This observation is made by Acrelius, so that these changes had already taken place about the middle of the last century; yet, several of the old Swedish names may still easily be recognised.

Our author has adorned his work with a number of maps, plates and wood cuts, out of which we have selected a few to annex to this translation, the principal ones, are two maps, the one of New Sweden, including both sides of the bay, and river Delaware up to Trenton falls, as it existed in the year 1654, and the other of Pennsylvania, a few years after the arrival of William Penn. The first is reduced from a larger map, which was made by the engineer Peter Lindström, (often mentioned in this work,) for the King of Sweden, in the years

1654 and 1655.* The names of places are in Indian or Swedish; sometimes both the Indian and Swedish names are given, with the word *eller* which signifies *or*. The word *udd*, or *udden*, means a point of land, *Kil* or *Kjl*, and *Kjlen* or *Kilen* means a creek. What farther explanations may be required for the understanding of this map, are given in notes in the course of this translation. The other map is reduced from that of Nicholas Visscher, a Dutch Geographer of that period. It requires no explanation, any more than the three small plates, representing Fort Trinity, the Siege of Fort Christina, and a view of an Indian Fort, which are also annexed.

In this translation, nothing has been aimed at but correctness, a few notes only have been added, where they were thought necessary to elucidate the text; particularly in respect to proper names and places, of which the situation and modern denominations have been given, as far as has been possible.

* The author informs us that the original of this map was destroyed by fire in the conflagration of the Royal Palace at Stockholm, in the year 1697. But it seems that a copy of it had been previously taken, which was, and is still deposited in the Royal archives. Of this a copy exists in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, which was procured for them by the kindness of Captain William Jones above mentioned. It is of the length of 27 inches and a quarter; and there is a scale of German miles of fifteen to a degree, which makes the distance from the mouth of Delaware Bay to Trenton Falls, considerably greater than it really is, and the other distances in proportion. This map, therefore, is not to be relied on, and can only serve to show the relative positions of places, with their Indian, Dutch, and Swedish names. We must make large allowances for a map made at that period of time, when the country was almost entirely in the possession of Savage tribes, and when the means for carrying on such operations were but scanty. Instead of finding fault with, we ought, on the contrary, to give credit to Mr. Lindstrom for having done so much as he did, under the then existing circumstances. This large map is, most probably, the one from which the small one annexed to this work was reduced. We hope, at some time or other, it will be published *in extenso*, as a monument of the early beginnings of our country.



DESCRIPTION, &c.

BOOK I.

OF AMERICA IN GENERAL.

CHAPTER I.

Of America in general, its Situation, Divisions, Settlement by Europeans, and the Forms of Government therein established.

THE whole earth is a round ball, consisting of land and water. Geographers have divided it into two parts, one which they call the Old and the other the New World. The old world is that in which we live: it contains Europe which lies to the north, Asia to the east, and Africa to the south. The New world is called America, and lies out to the west: it has existed as well as the old ever since the creation; but to us who inhabit the Old World it has become but lately known. Although the object of this book is only to give a short description of the American provinces of New Sweden and Virginia, we have thought that it would not be amiss to preface it with something on the subject of America in general, or, as it is called by sea-faring men, the West Indies.

According to the learned geographer, Philip Cluverius, America is bounded, to the east, by the Atlantic and Ethiopic sea; to the west, by the South sea, or Pacific ocean; to the south by the straits of Magellan and Terra Magellanica; and to the north, by the Icy Sea and the country lying under

the Arctic pole. All the geographers and learned men who have given descriptions of the New World, have divided it into North and South America, with the islands to each part respectively belonging. Those parts are divided from each other by an isthmus about fifteen miles broad, which is called the Isthmus of Panama: the country that lies to the north of it, is called North, and that to the south, South America.

To North America, belong the Gulf of Mexico, the great river St. Lawrence, and Hudson's Bay. These are worthy of notice, as being the seats of European settlements, the principal of which are the following:—

MEXICO, or NEW SPAIN.—This is the chief possession of the Spaniards in America. It was conquered by Fernando Cortez, a Spaniard, in the year of our Lord 1521. There is a fine city in which the viceroy has his residence; it is an archbishop's see, and has a university.

NEW MEXICO, or, as some call it, *New Granada*, lies beyond New Spain, and consists of several kingdoms which the Spaniards first discovered in the year 1598. There are in that country mines of gold and silver, with other minerals and various kinds of precious stones.

FLORIDA, which was also taken possession of by the Spaniards, and was so called in consequence of its having been discovered on Palm Sunday, which in their language is called *Pascua de Flores*. They have only made settlements a little way into the country, where they have the towns of St. Matheo and St. Augustine. But the country called Carolina, which lies between them and Virginia, belongs to the English, who took it from the French in the year 1600. The French had begun to settle it in 1564. There are in that country mines of various metals, particularly of copper and lead.

CANADA, under which name is included all the remaining territory lying to the north, as far as Hudson's Bay. That country was first taken possession of by the Spaniards; but

they, not finding in it what they wanted, afterwards abandoned it, calling it *Cabo de Nada*; that is to say, *Cape Nothing*.* It consists of several provinces, among which is New France, on the river St. Lawrence, which was first settled by the French in the sixteenth century, under the reign of Francis the First. There are in that country mines of copper and lead. Quebec is the chief town, where the French viceroy resides. It was taken by the English in the year 1629.

LOUISIANA lies next to Virginia, and was taken possession of by the French, in 1678, and so called after the name of her monarch. The whole province is considered as part of New France.†

Estotiland, Terra Laborador, or Nova Britannia, lies on Hudson's Bay, to the north of New France: there gold and silver are found, as well as precious stones, and also marble, jasper, and emeralds.

VIRGINIA,‡—where there are European colonies; to wit: New Sweden, New England, and New Holland, of which we shall speak in their proper places. There is much said about them in various books and treatises.

* This is a fanciful etymology, which has no foundation in fact. It is now well known, that *Kanada*, in the Iroquois languages, means a *town*, so that the first French settlers mistook the name of a part for that of the whole. See *Transact. of the Hist. Com. of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol. I. p. 437.

† New France and Louisiana were under separate governments; but the limits of each were never accurately defined. The question was settled by the cession of Canada and all the eastern part of Louisiana to Great Britain, in 1763.

‡ At the beginning of the 18th century, all the country between Canada, or New France and Florida, was called *Virginia*: the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the North river, and the Delaware, were considered by geographers within its limits. It would have been well, perhaps, if, at the declaration of independence, that name had been adopted by the United States for the Union, instead of *America*, which belongs to other nations, as well as to ourselves.

There is a part of Virginia which is called *Maryland*, or *Terra Mariz*, whence the Europeans are supplied with the best Virginia tobacco. Farther across the wilderness, there are several newly discovered lands, among which are *North Wales*, *South Wales*, and *New Denmark*. The sea which washes them is called *Mare Christianum*; but all beyond it towards the Arctic pole is *Terra incognita*.

In this northern part of America, there are, also, large tracts of land, which were discovered towards the end of the last century; that is to say, in the year 1680, and the following, which till then were unknown to the Europeans. They were travelled over by Father Lewis Hennepin, a missionary friar, of the order of Recollects, and an apostolical notary. Those lands lie between New Mexico, and the Icy Sea, and greatly exceed in size all Europe; extending over 800 miles in length. They are inhabited by 200 nations or tribes, who all speak different languages, and the country is watered by a large river which flows through it.

Father Hennepin describes an immense fall of water in the river Niagara, between Lakes Ontario or Frontenac and Erie, the like of which is not to be found in the whole world. It is above 600 feet high, and falls down a high rock, which it divides into two parts; so that the water falls down on both sides. The water, in falling from that enormous height, makes such a tremendous noise, that it may be heard in fine weather at fifteen miles' distance. See Father Hennepin's description of that wonder of nature.

There are some, who are of opinion that North America extends to Japan; whence they infer that a shorter way might be found than that hitherto followed to reach that country, and also China, without crossing the equinoctial line. The same Father Hennepin, who during eleven years travelled over America, has explained this fully in the third part of the relation of his travels. The first part is en-

titled: "*Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte au Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle France, &c.*;" the second, "*Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand pays, situé dans l'Amérique entre le Nouveau Mexique et la mer Glaciale, &c.*;" and the third, lately published: "*Nouveau voyage d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe, &c.*"*

To South America belong the river of the Amazons, which flows eastwardly under the equinoctial line, into the Atlantic Ocean, and the river La Plata, which, more to the south, follows a similar course. They are both worthy of notice, as they are the seats of the principal settlements, which are the following:—

TERRA FIRMA lies on the Mexican Gulf, south of the Isthmus of Panama, and belongs to the Spaniards, who have divided it into several provinces; as Terra Firma, proper, whom some also call Castilla, or Auria. Panama is a fine commercial city. Portobello, or *Portus Pulcher*, has a fine harbour, situated on the Gulf of Mexico. Farther, are Carthagena, Santa Martha, Venezuela, New Andalusia, Carrihana, Paria, New Granada, &c.

PERU or *Regnum Peruvianum*, is, next to Mexico, the most important province in America. It was conquered in the year 1529, under the reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, by Francisco Pizarro, a Spaniard, and since that time has remained in the possession of Spain. That country is divided into three governments, or prefectures, which are the following:—

1st. The prefecture of *Quito*, which lies close under the line. Its chief town is Quito, which is the seat of the royal council, and has a university.

2nd. *Los Reyes*, or *Præfectura Regum*, lies south of the above, and is thus in the middle of Peru. Its capital is Lima,

* That country was no other than the beautiful valley of the Mississippi, which when this book was written, had but lately been discovered.

otherwise called *Los Reyes*, or *Civitas Regum*. It is the finest city in America, and was built by the Spaniards, in the year 1535. It is the residence of the viceroy of Spanish South America.

3d. *Los Charcas*, or *Præfectura Charcarum*, has for its chief town *La Plata*, otherwise called *Argentea*, which is an archbishop's see. *Potosi*, or *Potosium*, in that province, has the best mines in all America.

CHILL. This country was taken possession of by the Spaniards, in the year 1535. The climate is rather cold. *St. Jago*, or *Fanum Sancti Jacobi*, is the capital and the governor's residence.

TERRA MAGELLANICA is so named after Fernando Magellan, a Portuguese, who discovered it in the year 1520. From its situation the climate is pretty cold. The Spaniards built there two towns, *St. Philip* and *Nombre de Jesus*; but, finding the country too cold, they afterwards abandoned it.

TUCUMANIA. The Spaniards possessed the greatest part of this country: *St. Miguel*, or *Fanum S. Michaelis* is the principal town. *St. Jago del Estero*, or *Fanum S. Jacobi de Storea*, is the place of the governor's residence.

PARAGUAY. This country also belongs to the Spaniards.

BRAZIL. This country was taken possession of by the Portuguese, in the year 1501; who still retain the same, though they have been some time driven out by the Hollanders: it yields to them a good profit, particularly by the culture of sugar. *St. Salvador*, or *Fanum S. Salvatoris*, is the capital, where there is an archbishop's see, a good harbour, and two strong fortresses. There has been lately discovered here a rich gold mine, which produces yearly a great income. It is said that the deeper and the longer you dig, the richer is the ore that is found. There are here snakes that are not venomous, and are used for food.

Amazonia is a large tract of country, with small cultivated districts, lying on the river of the Amazons. It is not much settled by Europeans.

Of the islands that encircle and belong to America, the following are the principal of those which are settled by Europeans:—

The *Azores*, or Hawks' Islands, (*Insulæ Accipitrum*,) lie very near Europe; so that it is not determined whether they belong to this part of the world or to America. While they belonged to the Netherlands, they were called *Insulæ Flandriæ*. They now belong to the king of Portugal, and are nine in number. They are all very fruitful. *Terceira* is the principal island; *Angra* is its capital.

The *Antilles*, which have been so called by the Spaniards, as being *Insulæ antè Americam*. Several of these islands lie before America, and are met with when you sail from Europe to that continent. There is a considerable number of them, and they are divided into four classes. 1. The Larger Antilles, (*Antillæ Majores*.) 2. The Windward Islands. 3. The Leeward Islands. 4. The Lucayan Islands.

The larger Antilles are the following:—

1. *Hispaniola*, the greatest part of which belongs to the Spaniards. St. Domingo is the oldest and the principal of all the capital cities that the Spaniards have in America. The French have settled themselves on the northern part of the island.

2. *Cuba*. This island lies farther off, and belongs entirely to the Spaniards. There is the great commercial city of the Havannah, which is the rendezvous of the Spanish galleons.

3. *Jamaica* is a great deal smaller, and formerly belonged to the Spaniards, who built a city there, which they called *Sevilla del Oro*. They held it until the year 1655, when they were driven from it by the English. In the year 1692, the

island was ruined by an earthquake, which the French having observed, they tried to become masters of it, but the English fortunately maintained their possession. That island produces the best sugar.

4. *Porto Rico*, or *Insula Portus Davidis*, is the smallest of these islands, and belongs to the Spaniards, who have built there a city called *San Juan de Puerto Rico*. In all these islands there are gold and silver mines; particularly in *Porto Rico*.

The *Windward Islands* (*Insulæ ad Ventum*,) lie to the east of the *Larger Antilles*, and are also called the *Caribbee Islands*. They belong to different European nations. The French have *Guadaloupe*, *Martinique*, *St. Croix*, *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Lucia*, and *Tortola*. The English have *Montserrat*, *Antigua*, *Nevis*, and *Anguilla*. The island of *St. Christopher* is divided between them and the French.

The Danes have the *Island of St. Thomas*, and the Dutch that of *St. Eustatius*. *Tobago* belongs to the Duke of *Courland*, to whom it was given as a present by *King Charles II.* of *England*.

The *Leeward Islands* (*infrà ventum*) are opposite to *Terra Firma*, to the south of the great *Antilles*.

The *Island of Trinidad* and that of *Margarita*, belong to the Spaniards, who have there a rich pearl fishery. *Curaçao* belongs to the Dutch.

The *Lucayan Islands* lie off the coast of *Florida* to the north of the larger *Antilles*. Those that are best known are *Bahama*, *Lucayoneca* and *Guanahama*; this is the first *Island* that *Christopher Columbus* discovered, and it was called by him *St. Salvador*: some, however, think that the first of these *Islands* is that which the Europeans first discovered in *America*.

The islands which lie on the coast towards *Africa*, are the following:—

TERRA NOVA, or *Newfoundland*, which lies off the coast of Canada, where the great river St. Lawrence discharges itself into the ocean. The English hold the greatest part of this island, but some parts are held by the French and Dutch. There is an immensely rich fishery.

The Islands of *Assumption*,* *St. Johns*,† and others in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, all belong to the French. The *Bermuda* Islands are small, and lie near to each other. They all belong to the English, who call them the *summer*‡ or Devil's Islands (*insulas æstivas seu Dæmonium*.) There is in those islands a good pearl fishery.

The islands situated near Brazil, are small and belong to the Portuguese.

The American Islands on the Pacific, are the following:—

CALIFORNIA,§ lies opposite to New Mexico and is separated from the continent, by the *Mare Purpureum* or *Red Sea*. This is the largest island which the Spaniards possess in America. From California, the land extends itself to that part of Asia, which is called *Terra de Jesso* or *Terra Esonis*:—The passage is only through the straits of *Anian*, which hitherto has remained unknown, and, therefore, is not to be found in any map or chart. It is in *Hennepin's* Description of America, and may be seen in the annexed map.||

Opposite to Peru, and the tropic of Capricorn, are a great number of Islands which have been discovered by the Dutch,

* Now called *Anticosti*. It lies at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

† Now Prince Edward's Island.

‡ This is a common mistake; they are called *Somers' Islands*, which some foreigners have mistaken for *Summer's*.

§ California was formerly believed to be an island; it is now known to be a Peninsula.

|| A small map of America, which it has not been thought worth while to annex to this translation.

the principal of which are the Isle of Flies, (*Insula Muscarum*,) Prince William's Island, Dog's Island, the Island of Good Hope, &c.

Solomon's Islands lie off the coast of Asia, right under the line, and were discovered by the Spaniards in the year 1567, to whom they were a source of great riches, which, however, are now pretty much at an end. They were, on that account, called Solomon's Islands. There are twenty of them together, the principal of which is *Santa Isabella*.

The *Ladrones* Islands are situated off the coast of Asia, to which part of the world some consider them to belong, and others to America. They all belong to the Spaniards, and have different names, as *Insulæ Velarum*, *Insulæ Sapanæ*. In the last century, they were called after the Queen of Spain, the *Mariana* Islands; in some maps they are named *Archipelagus S. Lazari*. The other little islands which lie here and there around these, belong almost all to the Spaniards.

Such is the present state of America, or the New World, and of the European settlements therein. As to their forms of government, the Spaniards who possess Peru and Mexico, govern them by viceroys; who, in general, after three years, are recalled, and on account of the knowledge they have acquired during their administration, are made members of the council of the Indies, which has the general government of the colonies, both civil and military. In other respects, they have archbishops and bishops sent them from Spain, many of whom are taken from the cloisters of the Dominican and Franciscan monks.

As to what concerns civil matters, each province has its tribunals and judges, who decide all controversies. In Hispaniola, under whose government are the larger Antilles, and in Peru and Quito, there has been from the beginning a superior

civil, and religious jurisdiction. They have also established colleges, in which the civil and canon law are taught.

The other European nations have governors and intendants, who direct the military and civil affairs. They govern, in general, according to their own laws, or their own discretion.*

As it is the policy of all nations who possess colonies in America, to guard them well against invasions from enemies, they are, in general, provided with sufficient forts and other fortifications to that effect.

* How little this author appears to have known of the manner in which the *English* colonies were governed!

CHAPTER II.

In what manner, at what time, and by what European nations America was first discovered and settled.

THERE are various opinions among the learned as to the time when and by whom America was first discovered. There are many who believe that America was known to the ancients: it is only, however, about two hundred years ago that it was first discovered by Christopher Columbus, and after him by Americus Vesputius; in consequence of which it has been called the New World. Of Columbus and Americus, and how they first discovered America, the historians have spoken in detail.

Christopher Columbus, born at Novi, in the Genoese Territory, in Italy, had been engaged from his infancy in a sea-faring life, and had acquired much learning and experience in natural philosophy. As he had often sailed along the western coast of Spain, and had observed that at certain times of the year, the winds blew strongly, and for a long time, from the west, and knowing that all winds originally blow from the land, he was convinced that there must be some country to the west of the great ocean, whence those winds proceeded. He, therefore, determined to discover that unknown country; and in order to obtain the necessary means for that purpose, he repaired to the courts of several kings and potentates; and made his design known to them, requesting that they would furnish him with ships, seamen, and whatever else was necessary to his object. But his applications were treated with contempt and neglect, until Ferdi-

nand the Fifth, King of Castile, and his Queen Isabella, suffered themselves to be persuaded, and supplied him with ships and whatever else was required. Then Columbus, on the 3d of August, in the year 1492, sailed with three ships and one hundred and twenty Spanish seamen in search of America. After having been at sea more than thirty days, no land was discovered, and in the mean time provisions began to fail, so that the ship's crews became mutinous, called him an adventurer, and determined that he should sail back with them, otherwise they would throw him overboard. On his earnest entreaties, however, they consented that he should continue the voyage for three days longer, and if at the end of that time no land should be discovered, he should sail back with them. But before the three days had expired, they saw land, and at last came to the island of Guanahami, one of the Lucayos, where Columbus planted a cross in remembrance of the feast of Corpus Christi, and erected another in the place where he first landed, calling it by the name of San Salvador. Then he sailed northwards to the island of Cuba, and thence to Hispaniola, where they found much gold. Here they were permitted by the chief to build a fort, which they garrisoned with thirty-eight well armed Spaniards. The next year he returned to Spain with a large quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones. There he related the circumstances of his voyage; he was graciously received by the king, and honoured with the title of Admiral. He sailed again for Hispaniola, in the year 1498, with seventeen ships and fifteen hundred men, but when he arrived he found that all those whom he had left there on his first voyage, had been murdered by the natives. He built the two cities of Isabella and St. Domingo; he took the islands of Cuba and Jamaica, and other islands in the neighbourhood, and also part of the American continent.

Americus Vesputius was a native of Florence, and under-

took his voyage to America in the year 1502, with a great number of ships and men, by order of Emmanuel, King of Portugal. He crossed the equinoctial line, and sailed along the coasts of Guinea and Brazil as far as the tropic of Capricorn, in thirty-two degrees south latitude, and further to the river La Plata also in thirty-two degrees.

Another time he sailed to Royal Island,* on his way to Brazil; and when he came to Cape Verd and Sierra Leone he was abandoned by the ship that carried his provisions, and was obliged to return home. Thus Americus Vesputius was not only the first who saw the above named islands, but he also discovered the American continent, in consequence of which the country was named, after him, America.

For further information respecting Columbus and Americus, see John Lewis Gottfried's *Historia Antipodum*; the two Spanish historians, *Gomara* and *Mariana*, and also *Sebastian Munster's* *Cosmography*, &c.

Other learned men are of opinion that America was discovered long before that time, and that it was known to the ancients at a very remote period, which they attempt to prove from the second book of Chronicles, chapters 8 and 9; where it is said, that the wise King Solomon sent a ship to the land of Ophir, which returned every three years with 450 talents of fine gold, and also with silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. They think that the land of Ophir, to which that ship sailed, was America, particularly Solomon's Islands, or Hispaniola and Peru; and this opinion they support by the following argument: The ship, say they, was three years on her voyage; the place to which she sailed must have been very distant. The East Indies were not far from Solomon's dominions; no voyage could be undertaken from thence to the north or south that required so much time; the ship,

* *Isle Royale*, now *Cape Breton*.

therefore, must have steered a westward course towards the New World, which is far distant from Solomon's kingdom. Besides, no other country in the world was richer or more overflowing with gold, silver, apes, peacocks, and precious trees and stones than the American hemisphere. But those who are of a contrary opinion maintain, that the land of Ophir can be no other country than the East Indies, because, it is nearer to King Solomon's dominions, and he might well have procured from thence all those precious articles; and, besides, there is no instance of a voyage to America having lasted three years, nor of a ship having brought such things at the end of the third year. It is true that America abounds with gold and silver, and other precious articles, but the East Indies, particularly China, in King Solomon's time, produced a great deal more; and, therefore, to have gone to America for those things would have been, as the proverb says, to go over the river in quest of water, as they could have been obtained more easily and in greater quantity from a country less distant.

Setting aside the Holy Scriptures, there are those who will prove from Plato and Diodorus Siculus, that America was known to the Europeans in the most remote times, because those writers have spoken of an island which they call *Atlantis*, which lay near the pillars of Hercules, and was larger than Asia and Africa together. But that Plato and Diodorus, by this island, which they call Atlantis, did not mean America, but that the true Atlantic Island is the kingdom of Sweden, has been clearly and undeniably proved by the learned professor *Olaus Rudbeck*, in his *Atlantica*, vol. 1st, chap. 7, and vol. 2d, chap. 1.

There are others who admit that some ships may have reached America in ancient times, or been driven upon that coast by stress of weather; and thus, the country may have

received inhabitants from this part of the world; but they do not believe that any of them have returned from thence.

Thus, there are Englishmen who contend that so early as the year of Christ 1190, America was discovered by Madoc, the son of Owen Gwynneth, Prince of Wales, who made two voyages to that country, and, at last, died there:* they pretend that he, with his followers, built a fortress in Florida or Virginia; some say in Mexico, and that their descendants are still there, which they infer from a great number of ancient British words found in that language, and from some Christian customs which have been observed amongst the Mexicans.

Besides this, it may also be proved that America, in very ancient times, that is to say, in the year 996 and following, was discovered and settled by inhabitants of our northern regions; who called it *Wineland the good* and *Skratingaland*, which was found written in six different chapters of the history of ancient Gothland, under the great King Olof Tyrgwasson or Snorre Sturleson, published by the celebrated antiquary, John Peringskiöld, in the year 1697; from which for the sake of brevity, we shall only extract the names of those who visited Wineland the Good, and afterwards we shall briefly relate what they have said respecting that country, so that one may know what was the state of America in those times.

The first who travelled into that country was called *Leif Erikson*. He was sent to Greenland by King Olof Tyrgwasson, of Norway, to instruct the people of that island in

* There is, at this moment, in this country, a Welchman who has come over from Europe purposely to find out the Welch Indians, and is actually on his travels in quest of them. The translator has conversed with him, and tried to dissuade him from his project; but no argument that he could use made any impression upon him. He was determined to see the American Celta, and fully convinced of their existence.

the Christian religion. Afterwards he sailed for America with thirty-five men, built a house there, and stayed over the winter.

The second was *Thorwald Erikson*, Leif's brother. They went to the same place with thirty men, and remained there during the winter.

The third was *Torsten Erikson*, who after his brother Thorwald's death went thither with his wife Gudrid, and a company of fifty strong and active men, chosen for that purpose.

The fourth was *Karel Semne*, who sailed for that country with his wife Gudrid, and with sixty men and five women, they took with them all sorts of cattle and settled themselves upon the land.

The fifth was *Freidis*, Erik's daughter, with her two brothers, *Helge* and *Finboga*. They took with them thirty active men, besides women: they first sailed to Greenland, and afterwards went to the New World, to which they give the name of *Wineland the Good*.

The circumstances which are related respecting that country are the following:—

1st. That the country was fair, covered with wood, and there was but little space between the woods and the sea.

2d. That there were many islands, and inland seas, or lakes, on the shores of which there was white sand.

3d. That in the lakes and rivers, there was Salmon and all other kinds of fish.

4th. That at that time there were found whales which were cast ashore by the flood.

5th. That the country produced excellent fruit, and that corn grew spontaneously in the fields.

6th. That the dew which fell in the morning on the grass was very sweet.

7th. That the country was very fruitful, and produced grape vines, and also abundance of fish and other riches.

8th. That there was no hard frost in the country, so that the grass suffered very little in the winter, and the cattle did not want food.

9th. That the days were longer than in Greenland and Iceland, and the sun rose at breakfast time when the days were shortest.

10th. That the inhabitants made use of bows and arrows for their weapons, with which they made war and fought against the Norwegians.

11th. That they crossed the water with canoes, made of the bark of trees.

12th. That they took with them burdens and packages, consisting of squirrel and sable skins, and all other kinds of peltry, which they offered to the Norwegians in the way of trade.

13th. That at first they desired to have arms in exchange for their goods; but after they had tasted milk, they would not have any thing else.

14th. That they were much frightened by the bellowing of the bulls which the Norwegians brought with them, and when they heard them they would run away.

15th. That they wondered much at the arms of the Norwegians, and were afraid of them, &c.

How far all these things agree with what has been said by writers and travellers respecting America, and particularly Virginia and the neighbouring provinces, we will not at present examine, but the curious reader will find more on the subject in the course of this short treatise.

That the said Wineland the Good can be no other than America, is also maintained by the learned professor O. Werenius, as may be seen in his notes to Hervor's History, page 27.

It is probable that the part of Greenland whence those men sailed over to America, is very near to that continent, as may be seen, as well in the place above quoted from the said Sturleson, as in Jöns Larssons Wolff's *Norrigia Illustrata*, published in Danish, at Copenhagen, in the year 1651, which was communicated to me amongst other things, by the celebrated professor of antiquities, E. Brenner. It is there mentioned that some travellers were permitted by King Frederick the Second, and Christian the Fourth of Denmark, to go to Greenland; but they went to America, believing it to be Greenland, as may be seen in the same work, page 273. That part of Greenland is at present unknown, so that no man at present can find it; because, according to some, a great quantity of ice was driven by some storm out of the sea of Tartary, which has intercepted the passage. It is supposed that the people who lived there abandoned their habitations, and as the learned Grotius believes, travelled farther into the country, until, at last, they reached America, a part of whose inhabitants is, without doubt, descended from them.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Origin of the Americans, and whence they, and the Animals that are in the New World, migrated to that country.

HITHERTO we have briefly spoken of the discovery and settlement of America by the Europeans; we shall now proceed to speak of the native inhabitants of that country, first considering their origin, and afterwards in what manner and by what road they and the brute animals made their way into the New World.

We learn from the Holy Scriptures that all mankind have sprung from Adam, and that all living things were destroyed by the general deluge, except those who were saved in Noah's ark. It follows from thence that all men and beasts upon earth, are descended from those who were in the ark, which at last rested in this our old world, on Mount Ararat, in Armenia. Therefore, the inhabitants of the New World, men as well as beasts, must, in their origin, have come out of Noah's Ark. This being admitted, it may, however, be reasonably asked, in what manner, and by what way men, without the beasts, can have reached America? It is not probable that a particular ark was made for them, by means of which the Americans might have escaped the flood; neither is it likely that they might have escaped from that deluge, as its waters covered the whole earth; much less is it to be supposed that they were saved by some special act of Providence, like that which happened to the prophet Daniel, when in the lion's den at Babylon; so that we must necessarily conclude that both men and beasts found their way to

America, either by water with ships, or by some road by land; and that they came thither by some unforeseen accident, or in consequence of some premeditated design. Accidents at sea may easily be imagined, as it often happens that ships are driven by storms into the wide ocean, and to places which men never before knew or thought of. It is probable that many of the American islands have been discovered in this manner; but how brute animals should have crossed the high seas, who, as well as men, came out of Noah's Ark, is quite wonderful. It cannot for a moment be supposed; because they must have swum over the sea, as oxen are made to swim across rivers, and so must deer and other beasts have done, by day and by night. But it is evident that those animals never could trust themselves on the wide seas that encircle America; it might much sooner be expected that some birds should have made their way across the ocean by flying.

It may, however, be objected that men in voyages of adventure, may have carried animals with them on board of ships, as is done at present with monkeys and parrots; but that objection will not hold; for how could they have carried with them such wild and dangerous beasts, as lions, bears, wild boars, tigers, wolves, and such other poisonous and mischievous animals as are found in America? and even if that had been possible, how could they have taken with them so many various kinds, when they did not know that they were going to an unknown country? Moreover, in ancient times, the art of navigation was very imperfect in our Old World; the ships that were used were very small, and could not venture far from the land, as navigators were unacquainted with the compass, which was only discovered about three hundred years ago: how then could they have undertaken such a voyage, when they knew nothing about Ame-

rica, and had no idea that such a country existed? The most reasonable opinion, therefore, is that of those who believe that men as well as animals after the flood, made their way by land to America.

This being understood, it may now properly be asked, in what manner, and by what road did they perform that journey? It is believed that they could have gone no other way than towards the north, where Europe and part of Asia approach each other towards the Pole, and where, no doubt, the Old and New World meet; so that there is between them but a very narrow sea passage, or, perhaps, none at all, and the animals may easily have swimmèd and the birds flown across, or they may in the winter have crossed over the sea. Almost all the geographers and learned men agree in the opinion, that the Old and New World touch each other, and so all living creatures may have passed over from one into the other.

This will not have happened only once, but several times, and gradually, at different periods. In the first place, men must have been obliged to seek for new habitations, and to resort to a distant land, where they would probably settle and propagate. In the same manner, animals must have made their way in the wild state, until they came amongst men, and at last the New World will have thus been filled with men and with beasts.

At first, men will have been satisfied with leading a savage life, and will not have thought of laws, religion, or virtue, but lived amongst themselves according to the law of nature; afterwards, they will have come to the neighbourhood of places where laws, political government, the virtues and the arts were in use, and in process of time, will have forgotten their former habits and usages.

Other opinions are also entertained respecting the origin of the Americans. Some think that they came from

Asia, through the Straits of Anian, and that they drew their origin from the Scythians and Tartars: others believe that they derive it from the Chinese, and others again, from other nations, such as the Phenicians, Athenians, &c.; but they are so much unlike each other, not only in size and shape, but in their manners, customs, and languages, that it is not probable that they are all descended from any one particular nation, but rather from different races of men; for in some places, they are large and tall as giants; in others, middle sized, and in others, again, very small. They differ, also, in their colour; in some places being black,* and in others, brown or yellow. In some parts, they live without any laws, religion or government, much more like brute creatures than like men; some of them are anthropophagi, and devour their enemies. In others they have something like a form of government, and are governed by their elders, in the way of families: some of them have a king or chief, and they follow the traditions, usages, and customs of their forefathers. There are nations, who have a regular government and laws, such as the Mexicans and Peruvians; amongst whom, amidst the greatest barbarity, you find some virtues and the practice of various arts. Almost every where, they have different languages; so different, indeed, that there is not the least similarity between them.† Since the Europeans have come amongst them, they have adopted in a great measure our manners and customs; so much so, that in several places they have turned from their heathenish practices to the Christian religion.

* No *black* Indians have yet been discovered in this country. They are, in general, *red* men, with slight shades of difference.

† It is true that the languages of the Indians differ entirely from each other in point of etymology, when they are not dialects originating from the same stock; but it is true, also, that all those languages from Greenland to Cape Horn, are remarkably similar in their internal structure and grammatical forms.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Productions of the American Soil.

AMERICA abounds with every kind of riches; the soil produces all sorts of vegetables and plants, as well for the nourishment and support of man, as for the preservation of his health.

The woods are filled with all kinds of excellent fruit trees, with a great number of animals and with birds of every description. The seas, lakes, and rivers abound with almost every kind of fish; and there are also found pearls of great value. The soil produces all sorts of metals and minerals, as gold, silver, copper, iron and lead, with marble, jasper, emeralds, and other precious stones. The wild animals furnish a rich supply of all kinds of peltries.

The air is lively and bracing, and in many places so healthy that there is no need of a physician. There are neither excessive heats, nor excessive colds; but a mild and moderate temperature; the trees are green all the year, and in some places yield annually two or three crops. The fertility and productiveness of the American soil, are sufficiently proved by the great gain and immense revenue which the Spaniards and other European nations have drawn from that country, by means of the fleets which bring the precious metals from Mexico and Peru, as well as other valuable merchandise, which, for more than two hundred years have overflowed Europe with riches, with which she has supplied the

whole world. In short, America is so noble and beautiful a country, that some who have written upon it, have compared it to the earthly paradise.

Thus much we have thought proper to say of America in general, as introductory to the description that we are going to give of New Sweden in particular.

BOOK II.**OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW SWEDEN, NOW CALLED
PENNSYLVANIA.****CHAPTER I.**

Of the American Province of New Sweden, in Virginia; its Situation and Productions.

THE province of New Sweden is situated in that part of North America called Virginia, which some suppose to have derived its name from some place on the sea coast, or from a king called *Viguina*; but the better opinion is that it was so called after Queen Elizabeth, of England, who lived and died a virgin. It lies in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees, (as the Virginia Company described it in the year 1606,) and it is bounded to the east by the great ocean, to the south by Florida, to the north by New France, and to the west by countries yet unknown. New Sweden, properly so called, lies in thirty-nine degrees, forty minutes latitude on both sides of the river Delaware. It extends in length from Cape Henlopen, at the entrance of the bay, about thirty miles, to the great falls of the river to the north-east. The Swedes purchased this land at different times and by parcels from the Americans, the right owners thereof. The Bay is

* The author speaks, probably, here of Swedish miles; but that is indifferent, as it is evident that he had no correct idea of distances in the country that he is describing.

nine miles in length, and six or seven miles broad;* the Americans call it Poutaxat, the English, Delaware Bay, from Monsieur Delaware, one of their captains, who discovered that river in the year 1600, under Admiral Jacques Chartier;* the Dutch call it the South River of the New Netherlands, to distinguish it from the North River, on which New Amsterdam is situated; but the Swedes call it the River of New Sweden.

The soil and climate of this country is the most pleasant and fertile in all America; it abounds with every kind of beasts, birds, fishes, valuable trees, and excellent fruits; there is not any where a place better suited for every kind of culture, or that agrees better with the human constitution. This is sufficiently attested by Captain John Smith, in his description of Virginia, in the year 1622. He writes thus:—"If the courteous reader should come to this country, he will find it 'the pleasure garden of the world.' It surpasses all countries in Europe and America for fine navigable rivers. There are also high mountains and pleasant valleys. Every thing is grand and noble, and it may be well said that God has placed here an abstract of the whole creation. There are also many small uninhabited islands, covered with trees, which look like small forests or groves, scattered on the face of the waters; the air is healthy and the land fruitful, so that I believe that such a country is hardly to be found any where in the world, so well is it suited for the convenience and comfort of man. And, that I may describe it in a few words, I shall only say, that all the various kinds of game, fishes, and other things that Russia and Poland produce, the wines and salt of France, the iron, steel, figs, wine, and other pro-

* This is truly curious. *Jacques Cartier* was a French Captain of a merchantman, who discovered a part of Canada, in the year 1534. There was no English Admiral of the name of *Cartier* or *Chartier*.

ductions of Spain, and many other things besides, are found in this country, within the space of one hundred and fifty miles, and in sufficient quantities (as the English relate,) to supply their whole kingdom."

When the Swedes came to this country for the first time, they found it so pleasant and agreeable that they could think of no name more proper to be given to the place on which they first landed, than that of *Paradise Point*, which is near Cape Henlopen, at the mouth of the bay, as may be seen in the annexed map.*

When Sir William Penn,† the present governor, arrived in Pennsylvania, in November, 1682, he found the air so perfumed, that it seemed to him like an orchard in full bloom. It is so related by Francis Daniel Pastorius, a lawyer and justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, in his description of that country; in which he also says that the trees and shrubs are every where covered with leaves, and filled with birds, which, by their beautiful colours and their delightful notes, proclaim the praise of their Creator. All which is confirmed by the Swedish ministers, Andreas Rudman, and Erik Biörk; by the latter, in his letter, written in the year 1697, which he concludes by saying that that country may justly be called "the land of Canaan," and that he has not been able to describe half its productions and its beauties.

There is a great variety of trees in this country, of which the following are the principal:—filbert, chestnut, walnut, box, mulberry, cypress, muscatel vine, apple, pear, cherry, plum, damson, and the fine sweet-smelling sassafras; there are also peach trees, grape vines of various kinds, and cedar trees, two or three fathoms thick; also, pine, birch, asp, ash,

* See the map, where the name is written *Paradislet*, which is Swedish for *Paradise*.

† Foreign writers often use the word *Sir* instead of *Mr*. They think it synonymous to the French word *Monsieur*.

plane, linden, hazel, hawthorn, and other kinds of trees, finer, and yielding a more pleasant smell than any in Sweden or any where else.

Among the animals are found lions, leopards, bears, elks, deer, beaver, otter, mink, sable, panthers, wild cats, wild boars, foxes, lynxes, wolves, hares, musk-rats, &c.

Of birds and fowls, there are swans, geese, turkeys, pheasants, cranes, sea-culvers, herons, eagles, hawks, pigeons, turtle-doves, ducks, parrots, partridges, quails, and many others: also, various kinds of singing birds, such as nightingales, linnets, goldfinches, &c. Amongst the geese; there is a particular species, of which the Swedish governor, John Risingh, in his report on New Sweden, dated Elbing, the 3d of June, 1656, writes as follows:—"The white-headed goose comes from the south, at the latter end of March, and remains about fourteen days; afterwards comes the pied, or party-coloured, and remains about as long, and then flies towards the north, where it may be supposed that there is some river, sea, or lake; and it is well worthy of remark, that, in the autumn, from the middle of September to the middle of October, geese come to the river from the north; but these are of a gray colour, and they afterwards proceed southward, with great cries, and hopping along with an almost incredible swiftness: at the same time there come also swans, cranes, herons, ducks, and various other kinds of birds and fowls.

The fish are also of various kinds, as, sturgeons, cod, salmon, trout, mackerel, rock, pike, horn pike, perch, four species of roach, herring, eels, lampreys, &c. Also various kinds of shell-fish, as oysters, lobsters, sea and land turtles, cockles and muscles, of different sorts: there are also whales and sharks, which go up the river at flood tide.

Besides all these, there is a great variety of fruits and other productions of the earth, known as well as unknown, which

are found wild in great quantities, and are described by John Lund Godfried, in his History of the Antipodes. Those which have been cultivated by the Christians are wheat, rye, corn, oats, buck wheat, rice, beans, pompions, melons, and all kinds of garden plants and vegetables.

There grows also in that country a kind of grain called *maize*, but which in Europe is known by the name of Indian or Turkish corn. It is produced in America in great abundance, particularly near the plantations. Mr. Richard Grenville, an Englishman, in the relation of his voyage to Virginia, in 1585, describes it thus: "Maize looks like the English pea, and is of various colours, white, red, yellow, and sky blue: when it is ground, good bread may be made out of it; the English have prepared it in the same manner as corn, and have brewed with it a kind of small beer, and by adding good hops to it, have made a very strong drink. This corn is extremely fruitful; one grain producing from a thousand to fifteen hundred, and sometimes two thousand. It is of three qualities: the second kind grows to the height of six to seven feet, and ripens in eleven and a half to twelve weeks; the third shoots up to about ten feet in height, and ripens in five months and a half." Mr. Peter Lindström, formerly an engineer in New Sweden, in his manuscript treatise on that country, which is preserved in the royal chancery, expresses himself thus—(chap. 7:)—"Maize, or Indian corn, grows there of various colours, white, red, blue, brown, yellow, and pied. It is planted in hillocks and squares, as the Swedes do hops; in each hillock they sow six or seven grains of corn, which grows so high as to rise an ell above a man's head; each stock bears six or seven ears, with long, slender, and pointed leaves, which are of the same colour with the corn; each ear is one and a half quarter, but mostly half an ell long. In some parts, they are as thick as the thickest man's arm; in others, smaller. They have

ten, twelve, nay fourteen rows of grains, from the bottom to the top, which, with God's blessing, make a thousand fold increase. When these are just ripe, and they are broiled on hot coals, they are delightful to eat. Out of the white and yellow maize they make bread; but the blue, brown, black and pied, is brewed into beer, which is very strong, but not remarkably clear. Some curious persons in this country have planted some of this corn in their orchards, and have found that it grew very well in dry, hot summers. I have, myself, seen and experienced it."

There is, also, amongst other things, a most beautiful and excellent fruit, which we call, in Sweden, *water-melon*. It grows in rows like pompions, and some of them are so large that three tankards full of liquor may be extracted out of one melon. When they are cut, the inside is of a beautiful flesh colour; the taste is delightful, and it melts in the mouth like sugar. These are used as food and drink in hot summer days, and make a very cooling beverage.

There grows also a kind of pepper, one quarter of an ell long, and two or three fingers broad, in the shape of brown balls; but so strong and bitter, that if you break off only a little bit of it, and put it in your meat, it gives it a much more pungent taste than any other kind of pepper.

We cannot pass over in silence a plant which grows in that country, and is well known in Europe where it is in great use, namely *Virginia tobacco*. It grows wild in great quantities; but it is cultivated, as is related by the above-mentioned P. Lindström, in the following manner: In the first place, the seed is sown for planting in beds in the same manner as cabbage; afterwards, when the plant is sufficiently grown, it is planted in hillocks, where it grows so high as to reach a tall man under the arm. The soil where tobacco should be sown and planted, is saltpetre earth, which is not found every where. Every three or four weeks the planter

CHAPTER II.

Short Description of the principal places contained in the annexed Map of New Sweden.

THE banks of the river are inhabited by a great number of Indians of different nations. Their principal towns or places are six; namely: *Poetquissing*, *Pemickpacka*, *Wequiaquenske*, *Wickquakonich*, *Passyunk*, and *Nittabakonck*.^{*} In each town there is a sachem or chief over the people. The country is very fruitful, and abounds with all kinds of riches.

EASTERN SIDE OF THE RIVER.—Cape May, lies in 38°, 30' latitude. To the south of it, there are three sand banks, parallel to each other, and it is not safe to sail between them: the safest course is to steer between them and Cape May, between Cape May and Cape Henlopen. There are oyster banks and an oyster strand, all the way to *Bomtie's Hook*,[†] on both sides of the river: these oysters are so very large, that the meat alone is of the size of our oysters, shell and all.

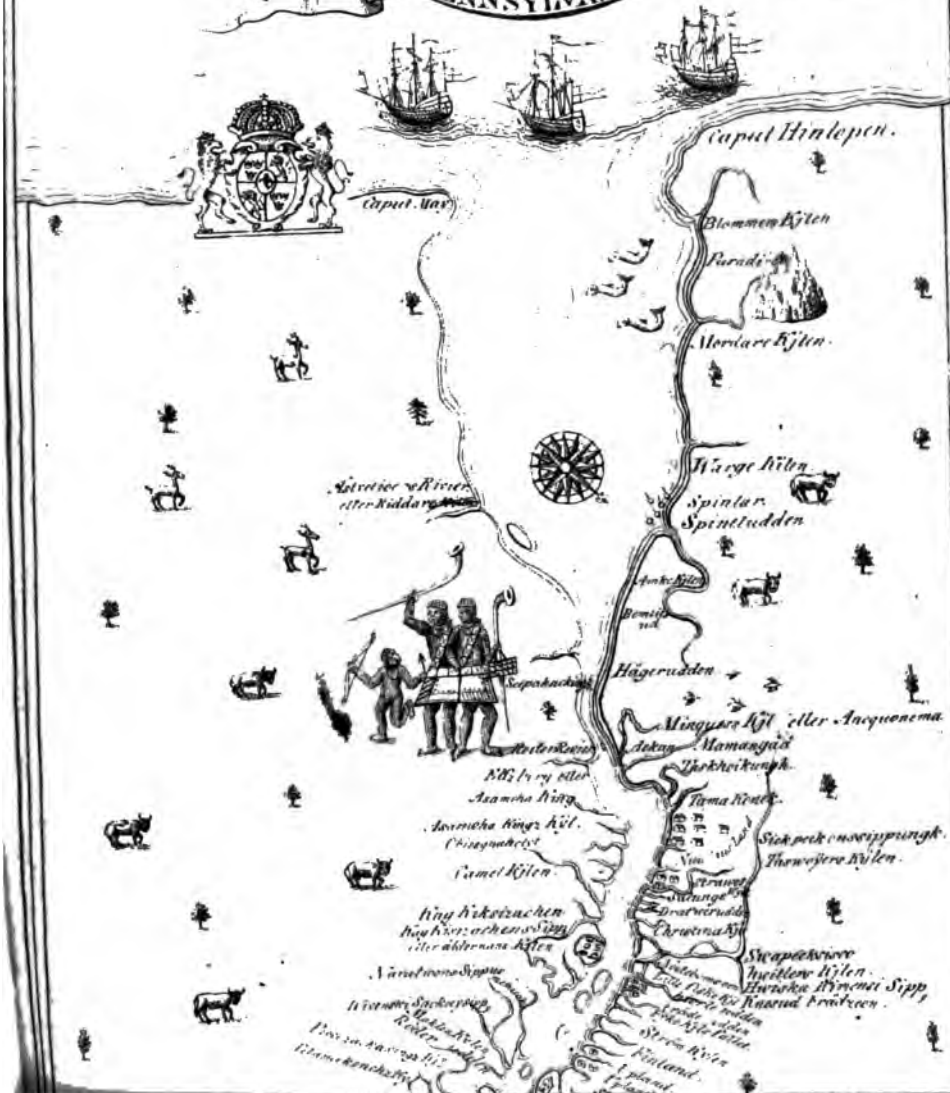
At *Oitsessingh*,[‡] *Elfsborg* or *Asamohackingz*, on the river

^{*} It is remarkable that no mention is here made of Coaquannock, or Quequewakee, the name of the place where Philadelphia stands, according to Heckewelder; nor of Shackamaxon, where the famous treaty under the elm was made, while Wicacoa (Wickquakonich,) and Passyunk, are numbered among the six Indian towns. It is probable that the two last were of more consequence than those that are omitted.

[†] Now Bombay Hook.

[‡] Acrelius calls this place Oitsessingh, or Wootseessunging, in Indian; in Swedish, Elfsborg or Elsingborg; in Dutch, Varcken's Kil, or Hog Creek; in English, Salem Creek.

Nova SVEDIA hodie dicitur
PENNSYLVANIA



shore, the Swedes had formerly a fort; but afterwards, it was burnt and entirely destroyed by the Renappi Indians.

At *Kagkikanizackins Creek*,* the earth is a black mould mixed with sand. It is a much healthier place to dwell in than Oitessingh, and is, also, an excellent place for plantations, as all plants grow there luxuriantly; particularly tobacco. From *Kagkikanizackien* to *Memirako*,† there are several islands which are nothing else but marshes, such as we have in our lakes in Sweden: they produce a great quantity of rushes growing together with strong thick roots; so that a man may walk upon them, sinking deep, however, in water and mud. In these marshes there grows a kind of root, which the Swedes call *Hog's turnips*; they look and taste much like the Jerusalem artichoke; the Indians feed upon them when their bread and meat fail. On these roots, the swine feed all the winter, and grow very fat upon them. In the winter and in summer, they go wild into the woods to propagate; and if one wants to kill any of them, he must shoot them.

Every where between *Obisquahosit*,‡ and *Naraticons*§ *Creek*, there grows a great quantity of calamus in the marshes. Between *Memirako* and *Makle's Creeks*,|| there grow a great quantity of walnuts, chestnuts, peaches, damsons, cypresses, mulberry, *fish trees*,¶ and many other rare trees, to which no names can be given, as they are not found any where else, but on this river.

All along the shore, from Camel Creek to *Tetamekamekanckz*** *Creek*, and also, in the woods above, there grows

* *Oldman's Creek*, according to Acrelius.

† *Raccoon's Creek*, according to the same.

‡ *Penn's Neck*, according to the same.

§ This, Acrelius also calls *Raccoon Creek*.

|| Vulgarly called *Munto's Creek*.—ACREL.

¶ See next page.

** *Timber Creek*.—ACREL.

a great number of white, brown, blue, and red grape vines.

At *Arwames* and *Tekoke*,* the Dutch had formerly a fort, but it was destroyed by the Renappi. On Deer Creek,† there grow peach trees, and the sweet-smelling sassafras tree.

From *Aquikonasra* to *Sineessingh*, the land is high and not well suited for cultivation. In this place grows the fish tree, which resembles box wood, and smells like raw fish. It cannot be split; but if a fire be lighted around it with some other kind of wood, it melts away. Here at *Sineessingh* the Renappi Indians catch tortoises, sturgeons, and other kinds of fish.

Hops grow along side of *Rankoques*‡ *Creek*; and hemp about *Assayungh*, &c.

Between *Quinkoringh* and *Rankoques Creeks*, the land is hilly, but not such hills as in Sweden; they are clay and sand hills. Some of them are naturally disposed to the production of metals; for instance, there is a hill at *Mekansio Sippus*,§ or creek, in which there is good silver ore, and along the creek the strand is covered all over with flint stones, some of which are of a round shape; and when broken, there are found in them grains of pure silver, some larger and some smaller. Mr. Lindström, in the work above cited, page 35, says, that he himself has broken more than a hundred of them, and taken out the silver that was therein.

Rankoques Creek abounds with fish, and is navigable for large vessels. Its depth runs along the shore; but the worst is, that there is shallow ground in the middle to the south of *Aquikanasra*.

* *Arwames*, *Tekoke*, *Tekaacho*, *Hermaomising*; Fort Nassau, vulgò Gloucester.—ACRELIVS.

† Hiorte Kilen.

‡ On the map it is *Kancoques*, probably by mistake of the Swedish engraver. On our maps, it is *Rancocus* or *Ancocus*. It is in New Jersey above Burlington.

§ *Sippus*, Indian word for river or creek.

At *Warentapecka** *Creek*, more to the south, there is a place in the middle of the creek that never freezes, and where swans are seen at all times.

From *Warentapecka* to *Trakonick*, the land is high and hilly, and the soil consists of clay and sand: the shore is of the same kind; some parts are stony, some marshy and covered with bushes. From *Trakonick*, and further up on the east side of the river, the soil is fine, and bears black maize of the colour of tar: the Indians have planted it there for many years. It is difficult to navigate through this part. It is inhabited on this side by the *Munteese* Indians; that nation considers itself entitled to these shores by the right of possession: their numbers are now much diminished by wars. The land, within, is very rich in animal productions. There are beavers, otters, elks, bears, wolves, and lions, with every other kind of wild beasts; also, a great quantity of swans, geese, turkeys, pigeons, and other wild fowl.

Poetquissings Creek is by nature provided with every thing that man can desire: the land is high on both sides; the first fall cannot be above musket shot from this creek. There are mill seats, to which one may approach so near to a vessel, as to be able to hoist up every thing with ropes.

Menejeck is a large creek, but not so convenient as *Poetquessings*.

About the falls of *Assinpink*, and farther up the river, the land is rich, and there are a great many plantations on it. it does not produce much Indian corn, but a great quantity of grape vines, white, red, brown, and blue; the inhabitants want only to know how to press the grape, in order to have a rich wine country. As to the interior, nothing is known about it, except that it is believed to be a continent: the Swedes have no intercourse with any of the savages, but the

* *Warentapecka, Aquikonasra, Trakonick, Poetquessing, Menejeck, &c.* names of which there is no memory.—ACRELIUS.

black and white Mengwes,* and these know nothing, except that as far as they have gone into the interior, the country is inhabited by other wild nations of various races.

WESTERN SIDE OF THE RIVER.—At Cape Henlopen there grows a great quantity of Indian corn.

Between *Murderers' Creek*† and *Wolf Creek*‡ there grow plenty of mulberry, cypress, and cedar trees, two or three fathoms thick. On the shore there are fine meadows, and plenty of grass.

In *Wolf Creek* there is a black clay, which, when it is prepared, serves for ink, and may be used for painting. There is also a blue earth, which, when it is well tempered, may serve for blue paint.

At *Spiders' point*,§ when the south wind blows, a great many sea spiders are driven on shore, which are not able to return into the water. They are as large as tortoises, and like them they have houses over them of a kind of yellow horn; they have many feet, and their tails are half an ell long, and made like a three-edged saw, with which the hardest tree may be sawed down. When they are well boiled and dressed, they taste like good lobsters. In *Amke Creek* there is a blue clay.

From *Menejackse Creek* to *Christina* the soil is light and very fruitful; it is suited to produce every thing that may be planted therein, which will grow in great quantity. The creek is also navigable.

At *Christina Creek* is *Fort Christina*, and behind it a little town, laid out by the engineer, P. Lindström, and afterwards built and settled, but was since ruined by the Dutch. This creek is a deep navigable stream, and runs far into the

* Iroquois.

† *Mordare Kilen*, now *Mother Creek*.—ACRELL.

‡ *Werge Kilen*, now *Dover's Creek*.—ACRELL.

§ *Spinnels udd*, now *Bombay Hook*.—ACRELL.

country. On both sides of it, as well as up to Menejeck Creek, the land is excellent, both to sow and plant, and there grow upon it all sorts of rare fruit trees. No words can be found to describe the fertility of this land; indeed it may well be called a land flowing with milk and honey.

At Christina Creek, grape vines grow in great abundance: the Swedes once found here a grape vine two ells thick, which thickness has not been found in a grape vine any where else.

On the shore of *Tennakongs** there is found gamboge, which is as good as yellow ochre; but it is not used in the country, except to colour deer skins. In these parts there grow walnuts, chestnuts, and an immense quantity of sweet-smelling sassafras trees. To the south of Tennakongs island there is a lake which is always full of birds and fowls.

Foglesand is a white sand bank which is dry in summer.

At *Swapecksisko*, or White Clay Creek,† there is fine white clay, and when it is dry and well prepared, it is as good as white lead.

At *Huiskakimensi* Creek,‡ and at Nut-tree Island,§ there is a red earth, which, when dried, pounded, and well prepared, is used instead of cinnabar.

Between Grape-vine Point|| and *Nittabakonck*, there grow abundance of white, brown, blue, and red grape vines.

From *Nejakue* to *Poenpissings* Creek there is no land settled or cultivated, either by the Christians or Indians: it seems, however, to be fertile land. In the river there is no opposition from shoals or reed marshes, to hinder the passage to the shore, except that it is stony.

* *Tinicum*.

† *Hwitlers Kilen*, now White Clay Creek.—ACREL.

‡ Now Red Clay Creek.—ACREL.

§ *Nælebom's Oen*, now Bread and Cheese Island.—ACREL.

|| *Windrufwo udden*, *Rufwo udden*, *Sandhuken*, Fort Casimir, now New-castle.—ACREL.

Along *Poenpissings* Creek, there grow oaks, pines, plane, walnut, beech, and other trees.

From *Sipaessingh* to *Nyecks* Creek there is very good land, as also at *Sipaessingh*; it does not, however, stretch so far into the country, but takes a winding course around the creek: there is good pasturage for cattle.

Opposite to *Poetquessingh* there is a kind of fish with great long teeth, which the Indians call *Manitto*, which means spirit or devil: it plunges very deep into the water, and spouts it up like a whale; the like is not to be seen elsewhere in the river.

On *Monkey Creek** there grow wild hops, and opposite to *Plum point*† there grow great numbers of beach, plum, mulberry, and chestnut trees.

About *Wickon's Sippus*, or *Pike Creek*,‡ there grow a great many peaches and grapes, and in the meadows calamus roots.

Along *Sipaessingh*, and about *Mehanickan* there grows abundance of white, black, and red oak.

Along *Sanchhichan* there grows winter oak, whose leaves remain all the winter upon the trees, and do not fall off until the spring.

About the *Falls of Allumingh* there grow walnut, chestnut, peach, and mulberry trees, and several sorts of plum trees and grape vines; hemp and hops grow in abundance.

On this river there grows a plant, the fruit of which is round, and is called *callabash*. It is a vine that runs along the ground. The fruit is shaped like a pear. Some are as large as a great pompion, and others are small as a little snuff

* *Merecats Kilen*, or *Monkey Creek*, *Nittabackonk*, *Plommons udden*, or *Plum point*, *Wickon*, or *Pike Creek*; names of which no memory remains.—
ACCEL.

† *Plommons udden*.

‡ *Gedde Kilen*.

box. The skin is yellow, smooth, and thin as glass; it is hard and tough as horn. If they chance to fall on the ground they will not split to pieces. Within, they are full of seeds, like pompions: when these seeds are taken out, the fruit serves as a vessel for several uses. If sawed in two, they will make bottles, cups, and dishes; and, for rarity's sake, they may be rimmed with silver. Some of them are so large that they will hold a gallon or more.

There is here an abundance of a certain kind of fish, which the Swedes call *tarm-fish*, (gut-fish.) It has no head, and is like a small rope, one quarter of a yard in length, and four fingers thick, and somewhat bowed in the middle. At each of the four corners, there runs out a small gut, or bowel, three yards long, and thick as coarse twine: with two of these guts they suck in their food, and with the two others eject it from them. They can put out those guts at pleasure, and draw them in again, so that they are entirely concealed; by which means they can move their body about as they like, which is truly wonderful to look upon. They are enclosed in a house, or shell, of brown horn.

There is here, also, a large and horrible serpent which is called a *rattle-snake*. It has a head like that of a dog, and can bite off a man's leg as clear as if it had been hewn down with an axe. There are horny joints in their tails, which make a noise like children's rattles, and when they see a man, they wind themselves in a circle, and shake their heads, which can be heard at the distance of a hundred yards, so that one may put himself on his guard. These snakes are three yards long, and thick as the thickest part of a man's leg; they are as many years old as they have rattles in their tails; their colour is brown, black, and yellow. Their skins are much sought after by pregnant women; they tie them round their bodies, and are quickly and easily delivered.

The map hereunto annexed, is reduced from that which

was made by the engineer, P. Lindström, which is four yards in length, and two in breadth, and was hung up in the hall of the palace at Stockholm, in the year 1696, in the reign of King Charles XI., of glorious and immortal memory; who, out of his royal kindness, in order to propagate the pure word of God in those parts, caused the catechism, translated into the Indian language by my grandfather, John Campanius Holm, to be printed, and sent to his old subjects, the Swedes, in America. He sent them, also, a great number of other religious books, and three able and learned ministers, and caused the said map to be reduced and engraved, the original of which was destroyed in the lamentable conflagration of the palace, which happened at Stockholm, on the 7th of May, 1697.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Climate and Temperature of Virginia and New Sweden.

THE climate and temperature in Virginia and New Sweden are variable, as with us; some years are colder and others are warmer. In the year 1657, the same in which the winter was so cold in our country, that the belt was frozen over, and our brave hero, King Charles Gustavus, of glorious memory, crossed over it, with his army, into Funen, Laland, Falster, and Sealand, the river Delaware, as I have been informed, was entirely frozen up in one night, so that a deer could run over it, which, as the Indians relate, had not happened within the memory of man. Otherwise the climate is moderate, the air is pleasant and very wholesome, moderately moist and warm, so that every thing that is planted and sown grows very fast, and produces abundant crops; and, although the weather is sometimes damp and rainy, yet it does not last so long as in this country; in two or three hours it is over, and the sun shines again as bright as ever.

The severity of winter lasts, at most, two months; it begins in January, when it is somewhat cold, and then it increases, so that before Christmas there is very little cold, but only wind and rain: the end of January, and the beginning of February are the coldest parts of the winter.

Spring is very fine and pleasant, without any stormy or rigidly cold weather, but only small soft rains and a clear sky.

The summer is, for the most part, pleasant and moderately warm, except in August and September, which are the

hottest parts of the year, and in some years it is so warm that people long for rain and wet weather, by which the air is immediately cooled.

The autumn is pleasant and dry, and sometimes a little cold, as was observed by John Campanius in the year 1645. On this subject the engineer, P. Lindström, in the sixth chapter of his manuscript treatise, writes as follows:—"The winter begins late in November, and sometimes in December, and ends in the middle of January, so that its length in these parts does not exceed seven, eight, or nine weeks at furthest; and during that period it is as cold as in Old Sweden. It sets in with great violence; in three or four nights the river will be covered with thick ice, and when it breaks up, it is with a terrible noise, and there comes immediately fine summer weather. Rain falls there very seldom; it is generally accompanied with thunder and lightning: so that the sky seems on fire, and nothing is seen but flame and smoke. This was observed in the year 1654." My grandfather, John Campanius, who was pastor in New Sweden, has also made meteorological observations in the years 1644 and 1645; he made them every day and night of every month; they are too long to be inserted here at large: I shall, therefore, only give extracts of those for the year 1644, by which the reader will be enabled to judge of the temperature of the country.

JANUARY.—From the 1st to the 10th of this month, cloudy and rainy weather, with occasional sunshine, and somewhat warm; wind shifting from W. to S. and N. From the 10th to the 20th, a pretty sharp cold, and there fell a good deal of snow; afterwards, rain and thick fogs with sunshine at intervals; wind shifting from NW. to SE. and from SE. to S. From the 20th to the 21st, it blew at first cold and hard, then came snow and sleet, with now and then, warm sunshine; gusts of wind from N. to NE., NW., and S.

FEBRUARY.—From the 1st to the 10th, cold and clear weather, warm sunshine now and then; wind chiefly blowing from the east. From the 10th to the 20th, rain now and then, and sometimes hail; in the intervals, cold and clear sunshine; winds S. and N., SE., E. and NE. From the 20th to the 28th, cold, with now and then clear sunshine, and some snow; wind N. and NE.

MARCH.—From the 1st to the 10th, still, clear weather; afterwards, rain, thunder and lightning, with sleet and hail; wind N. SE. E. and SW. From the 10th to the 20th, fine clear spring weather, with now and then rains and hard gusts of wind. White frosts at night; wind shifting from S. to SW. from N. to W., SE., SW., and NW. From the 20th to the 31st, there was rain, wind, thunder and lightning, together with hail, and at intervals warm sunshine; wind N., S., SW., N., and NW. Nights starry and cold.

APRIL.—From the 1st to the 10th, cloudy weather, somewhat cold, and mostly rain and damp weather, with sunshine at intervals. Wind N. NW., NE. and SE. From the 10th to the 20th, clear, warm sunshine; at nights, some white frost; at intervals, cloudy and rainy weather, with thunder and lightning. Wind E., SW., and NW. From the 20th to the 30th, fine, clear, and sometimes warm sunshine, with some drizzling rain. Wind E., NE., and SW.

MAY.—From the 1st to the 10th, at first, fine, still, clear, and moderately warm weather, then cloudy and rainy, at intervals, with thunder and lightning, wind E., S., and NE. From the 10th to the 20th, fine, clear, warm, still weather; sometimes rain, hail and wind, with thunder and lightning, wind SW., NW. and N. From the 20th to the 31st, clear, warm, sunshine, sometimes rain and wind, winds NW., E. and S.

JUNE.—From the 1st to the 10th, a little rain, followed by clear sunshine, at last dry weather, for some days; winds

W., S., and N. From the 10th to the 20th, clear, warm, sunshine, with a little rain now and then, and at night, thunder and lightning, wind westerly all the time. From the 20th to the 30th, clear, warm, sunshine, sometimes rain with thunder and lightning, wind W., E., NE. and SW.

JULY.—From the 1st to the 10th, weather mostly cloudy and rainy, and at times thunder and lightning, wind N. and NW. From the 10th to the 20th, still, clear, warm, sunshining weather, sometimes rain with thunder and lightning, wind E. and W. From the 20th to the 31st, warm, sunshine, intermixed with cloudy and rainy weather, wind N., NW., and W.

AUGUST.—From the 1st to the 10th, warm, sunshine, and moderate weather, a little wind and rain now and then, wind E., and NE. From the 10th to the 20th, dry, warm weather, sometimes rain, thunder, and lightning, wind W., NW., and N. From the 20th to the 31st, at first, foggy and rainy weather, with thunder and lightning; afterwards, clear and moderately warm, wind E., NW., SW., S. and W.

SEPTEMBER.—From the 1st to the 10th, the weather was at first cool, with rain, thunder and lightning, afterwards warm sunshine, wind N., NW., NE., SW. and S. From the 10th to the 20th, still, clear, warm weather, with some rain, thunder and lightning; wind S., N., NW., and E. From the 20th to the 30th, clear, warm, sunshine; sometimes cloudy and rainy weather, and at night, some white frost; wind E. and W.

OCTOBER.—From the 1st to the 10th, clear, warm, sunshining weather, sometimes cloudy and rainy, with some white frosts at night; wind W., NW., and E. From the 10th to the 20th, mostly cloudy, rainy, and rather cold weather; wind N., NW., W. and E. From the 20th to the 31st, fine, clear, sunshine, with sometimes clouds and rain,

and a little snow, wind N., NW., and NE. Sometimes white frost in the night.

NOVEMBER.—From the first to the 10th, cold weather, with clear sunshine; some ice in the water; at intervals, cloudy weather; wind NW., S., N., and SW. From the 10th to the 20th, mostly clear, warm, sunshine, sometimes rain, thunder and lightning, with hard wind; wind NW., SW., and W. From the 20th to the 30th, clear sunshining weather, but cold, with frost, rain, and now and then snow; wind W., NW., and S.

DECEMBER.—From the 1st to the 10th, clear sunshine, some ice in the river, with snow on the ground; wind W., NW., E., and N. From the 10th to the 20th, warm, clear sunshine, with some cold wind; wind W., NW., S., and E. From the 20th to the 31st, fine calm weather, sometimes cloudy, rainy and frosty, wind E., S., W. and NE.

The temperature of the following year, 1645, was mostly similar to that of the preceding, except that there was not so much thunder and lightning; but in August and September, the heat was greater than in the former year. In this country, there have been also observed several new stars, all fixed towards the pole, and hitherto unknown to the European astronomers, as is attested by Francis Daniel Pastorius, in his Description of Pennsylvania, page 19.

Respecting the rising and setting of the sun in that country, John Campanius make the following remarks:—

In the year 1644, on the 8th of February, the sun rose in the morning at 36 minutes after six, and set in the afternoon at 29 minutes after five. On the 9th, it rose at the same time as the day preceding, and set at 30 minutes after five.

On the 9th of March, the sun rose at about 48 minutes after five, and set at six o'clock.

On the 2d of April, 1643, being Easter Sunday, the sun rose at about 5 o'clock in the morning, and set at seven in

the afternoon; thus, the days were fourteen, and the nights ten hours long.

On the 11th of May, being Ascension day, the sun rose in the morning about 4 o'clock, and set in the evening at some minutes after eight; thus, the days are in May, about sixteen hours long, and the nights about seven, something more or less, on each side.

On the 13th of August, 1645, the sun rose at a little after five o'clock in the morning, and set at six in the evening.

There is a difference of four hours between Virginia and Old Sweden: here the sun rises and sets four hours before it does there; so that when the sun rises in America, it is mid-day in Old Sweden.

The difference between Sweden and Holland, is of but one hour, but between Holland and Virginia, it is of three hours; so that the sun rises three hours sooner in Holland than it does in Virginia.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Virginia and the neighbouring provinces; to wit: New England, New Holland, and New Sweden; how, and at what time, they were discovered by the Christians.

VIRGINIA was first discovered in the year of Christ 1497, by a Portuguese navigator, named Sebastian Cabot, with an English crew; it was, with the adjacent islands, afterwards visited by the celebrated Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who gave to that country the name of Virginia, in honour of his Queen Elizabeth, about the year 1584.

Those men took great pains to settle this country, and although it was several times visited by the English since that time, yet it was not settled before the year 1606 and the following:—In that year, a considerable number of people were sent thither under Captains Sir George Popham and Gilbert; who settled themselves* in the part now called New England; and after they had found themselves comfortably established there, they built a town and obtained a patent from King James the First, for the whole of that tract of land which extends from 40 to 48 degrees north latitude, calling it, as we have said before, New England: after the year 1612, a number of people went thither in order to seek their fortunes in that country, which was divided into parts; so that what is now called New England, lies in forty to forty-one

* New England was not settled until the year 1620, when their pilgrims landed on Plymouth rock. In 1606, Chief Justice Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, sent a ship to North Virginia, on account of the Plymouth company; but she was taken on her voyage by the Spaniards.

degrees north latitude, and is bounded to the north by New France, and to the south by Virginia. For further information respecting Virginia, see the Descriptions of America by John Smith, Richard Grenville, Richard Waitborne, &c.

About the same time, (1606,) the Dutch began to visit Virginia, and to make settlements there. They established themselves close to New England at the place now called New York, which country they purchased of Captain Hudson, an Englishman, who had discovered it and sold it to them, but without the knowledge or consent of his sovereign, the King of England. That country began to be settled in the year 1614, and was called New Holland, or the New Netherlands; but not long afterwards, Samuel Argall, governor of Virginia, compelled the Dutch inhabitants to submit to the English dominion; shortly afterwards, however, they came with re-enforcements, and fortified themselves in New Amsterdam, under their own governor. The length of this province of New Holland, or, as it is now called, New York, towards the north, is not at present well known, but its breadth is about 200 miles. Its principal streams are Hudson's river, the river Raritan and Delaware Bay; the principal islands in its vicinity are Manhattan's Island, Long Island, and Staten Island. Manhattan's Island extends into the country in 40 and 42 degrees north; it is 14 miles long and 2 miles broad; and on it the city of New York is built. For further information, see Richard Blome's English America, chapter 5th.

Immediately after the said time, the Swedes, with some Germans, also began to visit that country, and there made settlements and plantations; at first on the river Delaware, in thirty-nine degrees forty minutes latitude, between Virginia and New Holland, afterwards nearer to the sea, and on the bay, as will be seen in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

Of New Sweden; how and at what time it was first visited and settled by the Swedes.

It was in the reign of our illustrious hero, Gustavus Adolphus, of glorious memory, that America was first visited and settled by the Swedes. Amidst the numerous and most important cares of state that occupied his mind, and the many laws and institutions that he made for the benefit of his country, he determined on establishing an American company for the purpose of trading to that and other countries. The occasion for it was given by a Dutchman of the name of William Usseling, who gave an account of that country, and represented it as a fine fertile land, producing all the necessaries and comforts of life; he suggested the idea of a West India company, in consequence of which a contract was made with him for that purpose; he drew it up himself, in the Dutch language, after which it was translated into Swedish by the royal interpreter, Erick Schræder, in the year 1626. In that document he adduced reasons to induce the Swedes to trade with America, among which the following are the principal:—

1st. That the Christian religion would by that means be planted amongst the heathen.

2d. That his Majesty's dominions would be enlarged, his treasury enriched, and the people's burdens at home diminished.

3d. That in this manner it would be a great relief to the

nation, and besides, would produce to them many positive advantages and a very profitable trade; that the Swedes possessed all the means for carrying it on with advantage; that they had every thing necessary for that purpose; they had ships, goods, and skilful traders, equal to any nation in Europe. And at last he concluded in the following words:— “If every good subject would, according to his ability, immediately contribute to put this plan into execution, without waiting to see what others would do, there would be no want of money to carry it into effect, and the kingdom, through the Lord’s mercy, would have another eye, and its prosperity and riches would increase beyond what it had ever done before; the public taxes would be lessened, and would be afterwards very light; and in process of time, every industrious man would thrive. And lastly, it would greatly tend to the honour of God, to man’s eternal welfare, to his majesty’s service, and the good of the kingdom; in short, it would be highly beneficial to the whole nation. Upon which the Swedish West India Company was established, with power to trade to Asia, Africa, and the Straits of Magellan, as appears from the said Usseling’s declaration, and the articles of the said company, both printed at Stockholm, in 1625, and also from the *Argonautica Gustaviana*, printed at Frankfort, on the Main, in the year 1633.

In consideration of all these things, our said King Gustavus, of glorious memory, issued his proclamation, or edict, dated at Stockholm, the 2d of July, 1626; in which he invited all persons, both high and low, to do all in their power to support the said company and promote its objects. This edict was ratified in the following year, 1627, at the general meeting of the states of the kingdom, as is related by Dr. John Loccenius, in his history of Sweden, page 556. This plan was supported by his royal Majesty’s mother, by his Highness the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, by the members

of his Majesty's council, and by the principal nobles, general officers, bishops, and others of the clergy; burgomasters and counsellors of the cities, and the greatest part of the commonalty. The time fixed for bringing in the money for the inhabitants of Sweden proper, was the first of March; and for those residing in Finland, Livonia, and elsewhere, the first of May following, after which no one should be allowed to participate in the advantages of the said company. And in order to place its trade on a proper footing, a board of directors was appointed, among the principal of which were an admiral, a vice-admiral, merchants, clerks, assistants, and commissioners; and lastly, a great number of persons were sent over to Virginia, in order to settle that country. Among those there were many from Finland.

On the subject of the first settlement of that country, Sir William Penn, the present governor of Pennsylvania, in the account which he sent over to England in the year 1683, wrote as follows:—"The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them, the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. The Dutch have a meeting place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes three; one at Christina, one at Tinicum, and one at Wicacoa, within half a mile of this town."^{*}

It may not be improper to add here, what is said by Francis Daniel Pastorius, who was a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, respecting the first discoverers and settlers of that country. In his account of that province lately published, he relates, (page 5,) that it was first discovered in the year 1665, by some English mariners in the reign of Charles I.[†]

* Clarkson's Life of W. Penn, vol. I. p. 309.

† In the year 1665, Charles I. had long been dead, and his son Charles II. was on the throne. Mr. Pastorius appears to have had very little knowledge of the history of the country he undertook to describe.

King of England, who, in his lifetime, did not know how to give it a name, as its native inhabitants went naked, had no towns nor fixed habitations, but wandered here and there in the forests, living in miserable huts. But afterwards, the Duke of York, having many useless people about him, and principally Swedes, sent them to a place on the river *Della Varra*, where they built a town and fortress which they called Newcastle;* he gave permission to the Swedes to remain there and enjoy the country until England could send thither a great number of people. These first settlers, that author calls *old Christians*, on the subject of whom he inconsiderately writes, page 31, as follows:—"These people have not the honest intention to instruct the unfortunate Indians in the sound doctrines of the Christian religion, but have only in view their worldly interest, and draw in those simple people to trade with them, so that at last some of them, who have been deceived by those Christians, have, in return, cheated them. I cannot say much in favour of either of them,† &c."

Where Mr. Pastorius found all these stories, nobody can discover: that that country long before the time he mentions, that is to say, 1665, was settled by the Dutch, Swedes, and English, and that it received its name from Christian nations is proved by a great number of celebrated writers, who state the facts as they are related in the preceding chapters of this work. In the first place, what Mr. Pastorius states could not have happened in the reign of Charles I., but if at all, it must have been in that of Charles II. The Swedes certainly settled America for very different

* This is a strange romance, and yet Mr. Pastorius resided in this country, and was a justice of the peace at Germantown.

† It would seem, that the Germans and the Swedes were not on very good terms in the time of Mr. Pastorius, which was after the landing of William Penn.

reasons, and with quite a different object from that which Mr. Pastorius is pleased to ascribe to them, as we have already shown in the beginning of this chapter, and, as is more than sufficiently proved by the public acts of Gustavus Adolphus, and Queen Christina, and by their ordinances and regulations for the government of that country. The pains that were taken for the instruction of the Indians in the Christian doctrine are very well known, and are particularly evidenced by the Indian translation of Luther's catechism and the vocabulary annexed to it, which were made in the year 1646, more than 18 years before the time, when, as Mr. Pastorius says, that country was discovered. This celebrated work of a Swedish minister of the gospel, was not printed until the year 1696, owing to some obstacles that were in the way of its publication. And that that country was for the most part settled by Swedes is a well known fact, as also, that they were not that useless and worthless people which Mr. Pastorius pretends. Without seeking any further proof of this, we shall content ourselves with offering the testimony of the present governor, Sir William Penn, as given in the letter before mentioned, in which he sufficiently praises the character of the Swedish inhabitants of Pennsylvania. He expresses himself in these words:—"The Swedes inhabit the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known in England than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in the culture, or propagation of fruit trees, as if they desired rather to have enough than plenty or traffic. But I presume, the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as

* Clarkson, *ibid.*

people concerned with their relations commend their regard to the English. The friendship between the two nations is the proper and strong of the children, and almost every man without three or four sons, six, seven, and eight sons. To say, I see few young men in this, the reader will easily believe to the statements of Mr. Pas-

and return to our subject. When they arrived into that country, they entered into an army with the native Indians, and purchased of the latter the land extending from the government of Delaware, and thus possessed the country. And when His Excellency John Oxenstierna, King of Sweden's Majesty's ambassador, King of Sweden all the pretensions that the Dutch country, which consisted merely in the Dutch. The Dutch also claimed a right to have visited it before the Swedes, and had been there; which had, however, been utterly abandoned, and all who were therein murdered, so that they had abandoned it entirely. This claim was also purchased, and the treaty which confirmed that pur-

that the Swedes erected Fort Christina; Peter Lind, having laid out a small town at that place, where they settled. Smith's New Jersey, 22. Holmes' American

chase, was shown to me by the Hon. Mr. Secretary *Elias Palmstiöld*.*

From that time the Swedish population in that province began to increase, and so continued until the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel John Printz, who was appointed governor thereof, and, on his return home, was made governor of Jönkiöping. On this appointment being made, my grandfather, John Campanius Holm, was desired by his Excellency Admiral Claes Flemming, his Majesty's counsellor of state, to accompany the said governor in that voyage, and attend to the affairs of the church in America, which he had the pleasure to do in the year 1648; of which voyage Mr. Campanius has given an account, as will appear in the following chapter.

* This treaty is not in print that we know of, and the cession by Charles I. is very doubtful.

CHAPTER VI.

Governor John Printz's Voyage to New Sweden, in the year 1642, as related by the Rev. John Campanius, grandfather to the author, with the latter's return voyage to Old Sweden, in 1648.

ON the 16th of August, 1642, we sailed from Stockholm, in the Lord's name, for America, on board the ship *Fame*, and on the 17th, we arrived at Dahlehamn. On the 3d of September, we left that place, and on the 6th, arrived at Copenhagen. On the 8th, we landed at Helsingör, and on the 12th, at Gottenburg. On the 1st of November, at noon, we left Gottenburg Castle; and on the 14th, at about four o'clock in the morning, we were in the Spanish Sea.* On the 21st, about mid-day, we sailed along the coast of Portugal, where the crew performed the ceremony of tropical baptism. It is the custom with seamen, when they cross the equinoctial line, to dip in the water those who have never crossed it before. One may be exempted from that ceremony, by giving a little money to the sailors, and in that case they receive only a little sprinkling. On the 26th, we sailed along the Barbary coast, a fine, rich, level country: we saw two high fortresses in the vicinity of the shore. On the 28th of November, the wind blowing from the east, we found ourselves half way between Old and New Sweden, having sailed 800 miles, and having as much more to perform. With the same wind we passed the Canary Islands, which lay high up to the north of us. In the Eastern Sea,

* It would seem that Spain, at that time, claimed the dominion of the Atlantic Ocean.

the wind is always easterly. There are in that sea two passages, in one of which the wind always blows from the east, and in the other from the west. In going to America, one must take the eastern passage, and the western in sailing from America to Europe. There are no storms to be afraid of, unless you sail before the wind to the Caribbee Islands.

On the 20th of December, in the afternoon, we arrived at Antigua, where there is a perpetual summer, and no winter; the heat is always very great. It is inhabited by Englishmen and negroes, with some Indians, who are held in perpetual slavery. There we spent our Christmas holydays, and were well entertained at the Governor's house. We had there much amusement, and had as many oranges and lemons as we could take with us. The distance from Antigua to Virginia is 365, and from the coast of Barbary to Antigua, 230 miles.

On the 3d of January, 1643, we left Antigua, and sailed along a number of little islands, lying to the left of us, as will appear from the charts; to wit: St. Christophers, St. Martins, St. Bartholomew, and Anguilla: they appeared to be at no great distance from each other. On the 24th we found bottom, and on the 25th we began to see land to our left. On the 13th we had a severe storm in the Western Sea, until the 15th, when it began to abate; but immediately afterwards, on Monday, it blew again very hard, and continued above fourteen days: so that we had never experienced such a storm, accompanied with snow, as it was on the 26th and 27th January; when, being in the bay, off the Whorekill, we lost three large anchors, a spritsail, and our mainmast. The ship was run aground, and lost some of her apparel, as we did, all in the same storm; but on the 15th of February, by God's grace, we came up to Fort Christina, in New Sweden, Virginia, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

After this account of my father's voyage to New Sweden,

it may be curious, perhaps, to give that of his return to Old Sweden, in the year 1648, which is remarkable for its shortness, when compared with the former one. He relates it thus:—

“On the 16th of May, having obtained a proper passport from the governor and council, I sailed, in the Lord’s name, with my family, from Ellsborg, in New Sweden, on board the ship Swan, and on the 18th came into the bay. The distance between Ellsborg and the bay is nine miles; and on account of the numerous banks in the river, we were three days in descending into the bay. On the 19th we came to Cape Henlopen.

“On the 4th of June we began to see land, and early in the morning of the 13th, we saw England; the first place we observed was the town of Plymouth, and by day and night we could discern the English coast, until we came to Dover Castle, surrounded with a high square wall. We then passed the Downs, where the English fleet lay. England is a large country, above one hundred miles long, and lay to our left hand as we sailed towards the north. The shore seemed full of white cliffs, with green meadows between.

“On the 14th of June we saw the coast of France to the south of us. Between France and England, the distance is only seven miles; the coasts lie opposite to each other. We sailed between them, keeping on the side of England. On the same day, the 14th, in the evening, we met two Swedish ships, one called the New Fortune, and the other the Julius. They both came from Sweden: the Julius was a stout ship, quite new, and was sent as a present to the king of France. On the 17th of June, early in the morning, we saw Jutland, lying to the south of us. On the 19th we entered the sound, and came up to Helsingör; and on the 3d of July, with the Divine favour, we entered the port of Stockholm, in the same year, 1648.”

CHAPTER VII.

Of the first Emigrants to Virginia, and the Conduct of the Indians towards them.

THE generality of people who went, or were sent over from Sweden to America, were of two kinds: the principal of them consisted of the company's servants, who were employed by them in various capacities; the others were those who went to that country to better their fortunes; they enjoyed several privileges; they were at liberty to build and settle themselves where they thought proper, and to return home when they pleased. By way of distinction they were called *freemen*. There was a third class, consisting of vagabonds and malefactors: those were to remain in slavery, and were employed in digging the earth, throwing up trenches, and erecting walls and other fortifications. The others had no intercourse with them; but a particular spot was appointed for them to reside upon.

In the beginning of Governor Printz's administration, there came a great number of those criminals, who were sent over from Sweden. When the European inhabitants perceived it, they would not suffer them to set their foot on shore, but they were all obliged to return, so that a great many of them perished in the voyage. This was related to me, amongst other things, by an old trust-worthy man, named Nils Matsson Utter, who, after his return home, served in his Majesty's life-guards. It was after this forbidden, under a penalty, to send any more criminals to America, lest Almighty God should let his vengeance fall on the ships and

goods, and the virtuous people that were on board; it was said, that there was no scarcity of good and honest people to settle that country; but such a great number of them had gone thither, (as engineer Lindström says,) that on his departure from hence, more than a hundred families of good and honest men, with their wives and children, were obliged to remain behind, as the ship had taken as many on board as she could hold; and yet those honest people had sold all their property, and converted it into money, not imagining that they could be so disappointed.

When the Swedes first came to that country, they were well received and kindly treated by the Indians, so long as they had something to suit them, wherewith they might trade with each other; but when that failed, they were no longer disposed to suffer them to remain, but considered how they might fall upon them and destroy them, and root them entirely out of the country; however, as they knew that the Swedes were skilful in war, and could use their arms better than the Indians, they did not dare to venture upon it; yet the thing once went so far, that their sachem, or king, called the chiefs and warriors together, to consult as to the manner in which they should behave to the Swedes, who had possessed themselves of their land, and settled upon it, and who had nothing wherewith they might trade with them; it was, however, decided at that meeting, that they should not exterminate the Swedes, but that they should love them, and trust them as their good friends, because it might still happen that they would send a ship laden with all kinds of merchandise, wherewith they might trade. My grandfather, John Campanius, has inserted the details of this affair in his dialogues in the Indian language, which will be found at the end of this volume. Since that time the Swedes and Indians have lived together in amity and friendship, and carried on a friendly intercourse with each other.

The Indians were frequent visiters at my grandfather's house. When, for the first time, he performed divine service in the Swedish congregation, they came to hear him, and greatly wondered that he had so much to say, and that he stood alone, and talked so long, while all the rest were listening in silence. This excited in them strange suspicions; they thought every thing was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us; in consequence of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were, for some time, in considerable danger from the Indians who daily came to him and asked him many questions. In those conversations, however, he gradually succeeded in making them understand that there was one Lord God; that he was self-existing, one and in three persons; how the same God had made the world from nothing, and created a man and placed him on earth, and called him Adam, from whom all other men have sprung; how the same Adam, afterwards, by his disobedience had sinned against his Creator, and by that sin had involved in it all his descendants; how God sent from heaven upon this earth his only Son, Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, for the redemption and salvation of all mankind; how he died upon the cross, and was raised again the third day; and lastly, how after forty days he ascended to heaven, whence he will return at a future day to judge the quick and the dead, &c. They had great pleasure in hearing these things, at which they greatly wondered, and began to think quite differently from what they had done before; so that he gained their affection, and they visited and sent to him very frequently. This induced him to exert himself to learn their language, so as to be able to translate for them what they wanted very much to instruct them in the Christian doctrine; and he was so successful, that those people who were wandering in darkness were able to see the light. He translated for them the catechism into

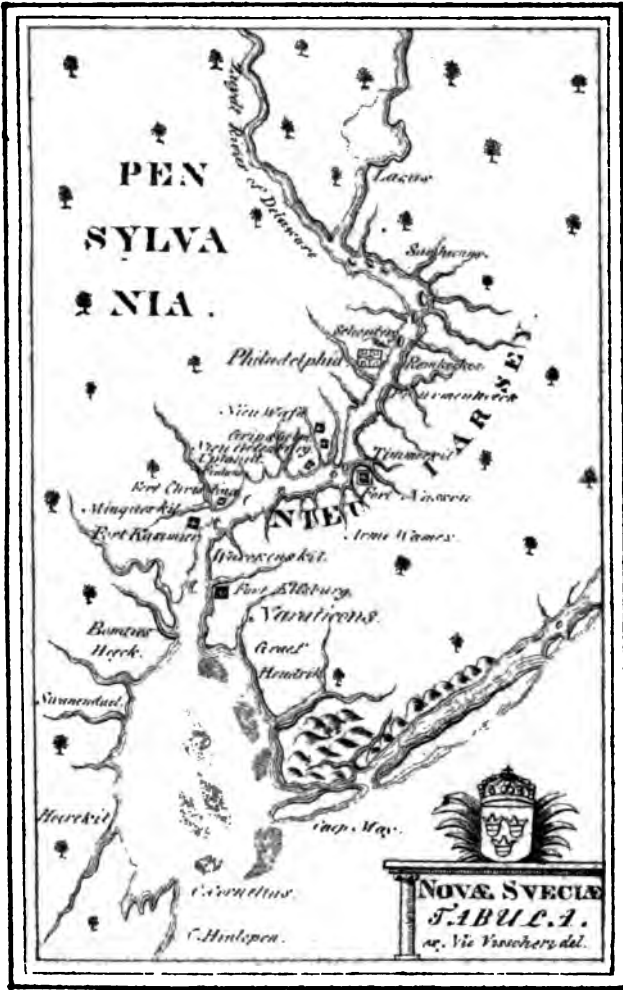
their language, and he succeeded so far that many of those barbarians were converted to the Christian faith, or, at least, acquired so much knowledge of it, that they were ready to exclaim, as Captain John Smith relates of the Virginia Indians, that, so far as the cannons and guns of the Christians exceeded the bow and arrows of the Indians in shooting, so far was their God superior to that of the Indians.

The friendship which had been formerly established with those people, was again renewed after the appointment of Mr. John Claudius Rising, who was sent to New Sweden as commissioner and assistant to the governor, John Printz. On his arrival, the governor had already sailed for Old Sweden, and had left his son-in-law, Mr. John Papegoia, as deputy governor in his place. He, some time afterwards, returned to his native country, and left the government in the hands of Mr. Rising, who, immediately offered to the English and Dutch, and also to the Indians, to renew the former friendship, as is stated at large by the engineer, Lindström, in the second chapter of his relation.

On the 17th of June, 1654, a meeting was held at Printz Hall, on Tinicum Island, of ten of the Indian sachems or chiefs, and there a talk was made to them; in which it was offered on behalf of the great Queen of Sweden, to renew the ancient league and friendship that subsisted between them and the Swedes, who had purchased of them the lands which they occupied. The Indians complained that the Swedes had brought much evil upon them; for many of them had died since their coming into the country. Considerable presents were made and distributed among them; on which they went out and conferred for some time among themselves, and then returned, and one of their chiefs named Naaman, made a speech, in which he rebuked the rest for having spoken evil of the Swedes and done them an injury, and told them he hoped they would do so no more, for the Swedes were very

good people. "Look," said he, pointing to the presents, "and see what they have brought to us, for which they desire our friendship." So saying, he stroked himself three times down his arm, which among the Indians is a token of friendship; afterwards he thanked the Swedes on behalf of his people, for the presents they had received, and said, that friendship should be observed more strictly between them than it had been before; that the Swedes and the Indians had been in Governor Printz's time, as one body and one heart, (striking his breast as he spoke,) and that thenceforward they should be as one head; in token of which he took hold of his head with both his hands, and made a motion as if he were tying a strong knot, and then he made this comparison, that as the calabash was round without any crack, so they should be a compact body without any fissure; and that if any one should attempt to do any harm to the Indians, the Swedes should immediately inform them of it, and on the other hand, the Indians would give immediate notice to the Christians of any plot against them, even if it were in the middle of the night. On this they were answered that that would be, indeed, a true and lasting friendship, if every one would agree to it; on which they gave a general shout, in token of consent. Immediately upon this the great guns were fired, which pleased them extremely; and they said, *Poo, hoo, hoo; mokerick pickon*; that is to say, "hear and believe, the great guns are fired." Then they were treated with wine and brandy. Another of the Indians then stood up, and spoke and admonished all in general, that they should keep the league and friendship which had been made with the Christians, and in no manner violate the same, nor do them any injury, or their hogs or cattle, and that if any one should be guilty of such violation they should be severely punished, as an example to others. The Indians then, advised us to settle some Swedes at Passyunk, where there

lived a great number of Indians, that they might be watched and punished if they did any mischief. They also expressed a wish that the title to the lands which the Swedes had purchased should be confirmed; on which the copies of the agreements (for the originals had been sent to Stockholm,) were read to them word for word. When those who had signed the deeds heard their names, they appeared to rejoice; but when the names were read of those that were dead, they hung their heads in sorrow. Then there were set upon the floor, in the great hall, two large kettles, and many other vessels filled with *Sappaun*, which is a kind of hasty pudding made of maize or Indian corn, which grows there in abundance. The sachems sat by themselves; the other Indians all fed heartily, and were satisfied. The treaty of friendship which was then made between the Swedes and the Indians, has ever since been faithfully observed on both sides.





CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Swedish Settlements in New Sweden, and the Forts which were erected there.

THE principal forts which the Swedes erected in New Sweden are the following:—

Hopokahacking, or Fort Christina. This is the first fort which the Swedes built when they came to that country in 1631. Near it, was a small town called Christina Harbour,* which was laid out by the engineer, Peter Lindström, and was inhabited by Swedes when the Dutch besieged the fort, and having taken it, destroyed it altogether.

Tutzænungh, or *Teniko*.† Governor Printz resided in this fort, and gave it the name of New Gottenburg. He also caused to be built there a mansion, for himself and his family, which was very handsome: there was likewise a fine orchard, a pleasure house, and other conveniencies. He called it *Printz Hall*. On this island the principal inhabitants had their dwellings and plantations.

Fort Christina is distant about three German miles west from New Gottenburg. In the latter place, the Swedes have erected a church, which, on the fourth of September, 1646. Dr. John Campanius consecrated for divine service, and also, its burying place. The first corpse that was buried there, was that of Catherine, the daughter of Andrew Hanson

* Christina Hamn.

† Tinicum.

She was buried on the 28th of October, in the said year, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude.

Mecoponacka, or Upland,* was an unfortified place, but some houses were built there. It was situated between fort Christina and New Gottenburg, but nearer to the latter. There was a fort built there some time after its settlement. It is good even land along the river shore.

Wootsessung-Sing, or *Elfsborg*. This fort is situated at the distance of four leagues south of fort Christina, and nearer to Cape Henlopen.† It was erected by Governor John Printz, when he first came into the country. It was mounted with canon, and when the Swedes came in from Sweden with their ships, those guns were fired to welcome them. At last, within a few years it was demolished by the Swedes themselves, who could not live there on account of the great numbers of moschetoës: after they left it, they used to call it *Myggenborg*; that is to say, Moscheto Fort.

Passayunk was given by the crown to the commandant, Swen Schute. At that place, there was a fort called *Korsholm*. After Governor Printz's departure for Sweden, it was abandoned by the Swedes, and afterwards burnt and destroyed by the Indians.

Manayunk, or *Schuylkill*. This was a handsome little fort built of logs, filled up with sand and stones, and surrounded with palisades cut very sharp at the top. It was at the distance of four German miles east of Christina. It was mounted with great guns, as well as the other forts. Those forts were all situated on the water side.

Chinssing‡ was called the New Fort. It was not pro-

* Now Chester.

† From this description, one would suppose that this fort lay on the western side of the Delaware. It was, however, situated on Salem Creek in New Jersey, and is the same which is mentioned above, p. 46.

‡ *Kingsessing*.

perly a fort, but substantial log houses, built of good strong hard hickory, two stories high, which was sufficient to secure the people from the Indians. But what signifies a fort without God's assistance? In that settlement there dwelt five free men, who cultivated the land, and lived very well.

Karakung,* otherwise called the Water Mill Stream, is a fine stream, very convenient for water mills: the Governor caused one to be erected there. It was a fine mill, which ground both fine and coarse flour, and was going early and late: it was the first that was seen in that country. There was no fort near it, but only a strong dwelling-house, built of hickory, and inhabited by freemen.

Chamassungh, or *Finland*. This place was inhabited by Finns, who had strong houses, but no fort. It lies at the distance of two German miles, east of Christina, by water; and, by land, it is distant two long Swedish miles.

Manathaan, or *Coopers' Island*,† is an island near fort Christina, where there lived two Hollanders, and some coopers, who made casks, tubs, boats, galleys, and yachts.

Techoherassi, Olof Stille's place,‡ was a small plantation, which was built by Swedish freemen, who gave it that name. They were frequently visited by the Indians, as it was on the river-shore, and surrounded with water, like a small island. Olof had a thick black beard, from which the Indians had given him the name of the man with the black beard.

The places which the Dutch occupied in those parts are the following:—

Tekaacho, or *Arfwames*. This was a fort which the Dutch built in Governor Printz's time, and which they called

* This is not laid down in the map.

† Now Cherry Island.—ACREEL.

‡ Olof Stille was the ancestor of the respectable Stillé family of this city. In Lindström's map this place is laid down by the name of *Stille's land*.

fort *Nassau*. They were afterwards driven from it, and their fort was destroyed by the Indians.

Sandhocken was also a fort that the Dutch built in the land of the Swedes, in spite of various protestations of our governor. They called it fort *Casimir*: the Swedes, however, in the year 1654, took it by storm, and drove the Dutch from it; after which the fortifications were greatly strengthened and improved by the Engineer, P. Lindström, and it was called fort *Trefalldigheet*, or *Trinity* fort.*

Manataanung, or *Manaates*, is also a place settled by the Dutch, who built there a clever little town,† which went on increasing every day, and was a fine commercial place, where all sorts of goods were sold, as in old Holland: the Swedes sent a ship thither every year, from New Sweden, to trade in what they wanted: it lies a hundred German miles from thence by sea. There were also places where the Indians had their habitations, which were called by the same name.

MECHAKANZIJAA.‡ There the Indians had also their houses and plantations; the Swedes and other Europeans constantly resort thither by sea, to purchase Indian corn, or the produce of the country. It lies at the distance of sixteen German miles from our settlements.

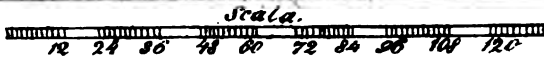
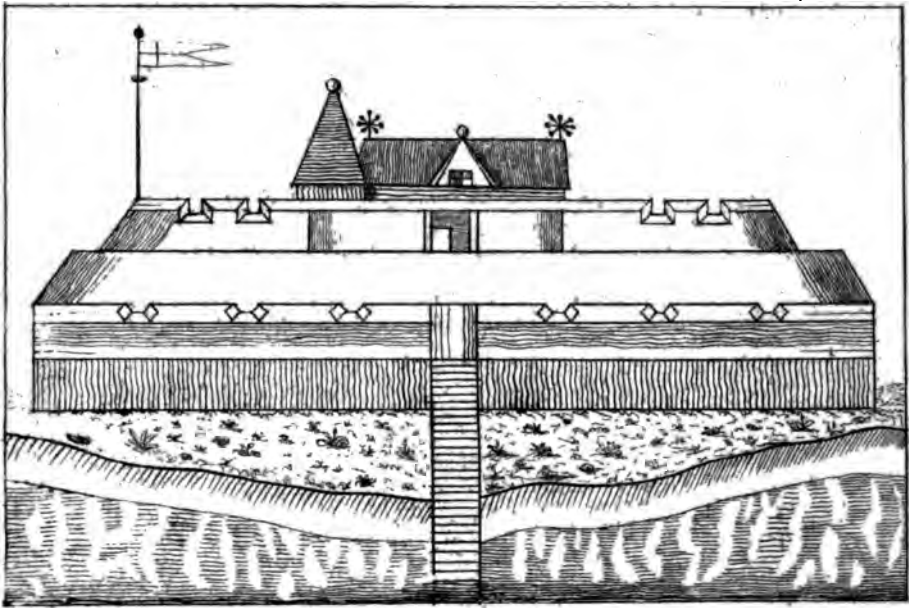
SANTHIKAN.§ This is at the falls of Delaware, where they had also a settlement in a wide plain.

* See the plate.

† This must mean New Amsterdam, now New York, on Manhattan Island, a clever little place. Our author, probably considers it as belonging to *New Sweden*.

‡ On the map there is a place on the Jersey side called *Mechansia Sippu*, possibly the place here meant.

§ Sometimes called *Sankhican*. There was a tribe of Indians of that name. They were of the Lenape stock, or Renappi, as our author calls them.



TRINITY FORT.

Arakunsickan, Thomehittikon, and Pimypacka. These are also Indian settlements, of which the latter is very rich and fruitful.

*Tennako Manaatet** is an island also occupied by the Indians. They are distinguished by the names of those various places, as the *Mechakanzy Renappi*, the *Santhickan Renappi*, the *Arakunsickan, Thomehittikon, Pimypackan Renappi, &c.*

* This means *Tennako* Island, and with the Indian local termination *ong* or *ang*, is the same name with *Tennakong* or *Tennicum*. But it cannot be the same place, as the latter was inhabited by the Swedes, and the Dutch never were in possession of it, or had any settlements there. The situation of this island is unknown; it was probably on the Jersey side, about the falls of Delaware.

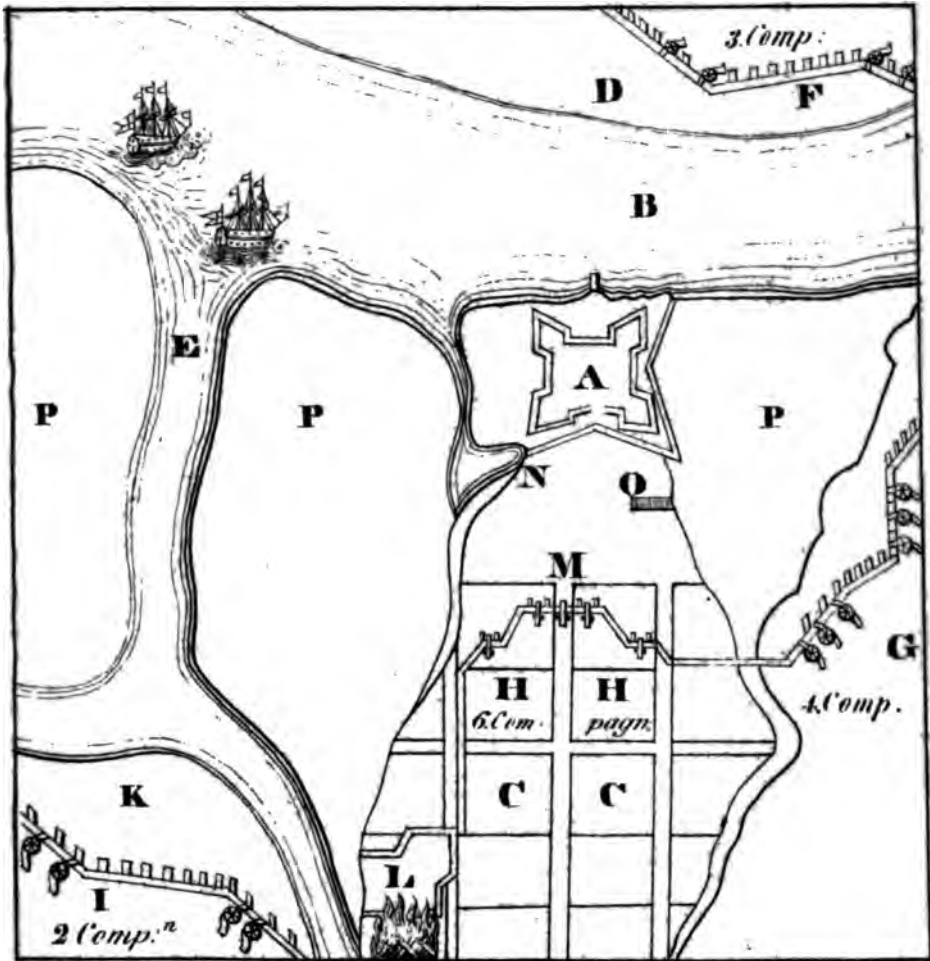
CHAPTER IX.

How the Swedes lost New Sweden, and by whom the Country has been since governed.

THE Swedes, as we have said before, first settled that country, in the reign of King Charles Gustavus, of glorious memory, and succeeded so well in the beginning as to establish a brisk trade with America; but the kingdom was at that time involved in war on all sides, and our hero had no less than six powerful enemies opposed to him, as appears by the history of the times, and the gold and silver medals that were struck at the death of that illustrious sovereign. There was, therefore, neither time nor opportunity to pursue that great undertaking, and carry it into full effect; the ships that were fitted out for that purpose were stopped and detained by the Spaniards on their voyage, which was done in order to favour the Poles and the Emperor of Germany, then engaged in war against us, as is related by Dr. John Loccenius, in his History of Sweden, p. 556. The Dutch did not fail to avail themselves of that opportunity, and did all they could to frustrate our designs, as is said by the learned Puffendorf, in the introduction to his Swedish History.

It also happened that the Dutch who had settled themselves in Virginia and New Sweden, made every possible opposition to the Swedes, trying to get into their power the forts and places which they had formerly possessed. These differences appeared to have been amicably settled in the year 1654, between the Swedish Governor, John Rising, and the Dutch Governor, Peter Stuyvesant; but the next

Plan of the Town & Fort of Christina, besieged by the Dutch 1655.



*A. Fort Christina. B. Christina Creek. C. Town of Christina Hamn. D. Tenne-
kong Land. E. Fish hill. F. Staugenberg. G. Myggabergh. H. Rethenberg.
I. Fligenborg. K. Timber Island. L. Kitchen. M. Position of the besiegers.
N. Berbour. O. Vine. P. Swamp.*

84

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year, on the 30th of August, the Dutch sailed from Manhattan, or New Amsterdam, with seven ships, and six or seven hundred men, under the command of the said Stuyvesant, and fell unawares on the Swedish settlements on the South river, or New Sweden. They took their quarters the first night at Elfsborg, where they made prisoners of some of the free inhabitants. The next day, they sailed up to fort Trinity, and landed at the point,* where they began to throw up intrenchments; and partly by threats, and partly by persuasion, they obtained the surrender of the fortress from the commandant Swen Schute, who, after some kind of negotiation, treacherously gave it up: the Dutch then put all the officers under arrest, and all the common soldiers on board of their vessels: they took possession of the fortress, struck the Swedish flag, and hoisted their own.

Stuyvesant thus having, at so cheap a price, possessed himself of that fortress, the key of New Sweden, and sufficiently provided it with men and ammunition, laid siege, on the 2d of September, to fort Christina, and the town of Christina Harbour,† as the engineer, P. Lindström, has delineated it in the annexed plate;‡ the Dutch then proceeded to destroy

* Now Gloucester point.

† Christina Hamn.

‡ The Swedish settlement at Christina, is thus described by Acrelius, p. 307:—

“The Swedish settlement is chiefly situated on both sides of Christina creek, and partly on both sides of Brandywine creek, in Newcastle, Christina and Brandywine Hundreds, in Newcastle county. It is about two Swedish miles in length, and one in breadth. In this place the Swedes live more compactly together than any where else. There is no house more distant from the church than one Swedish mile, (equal to $6\frac{1}{2}$ American miles.)

“The fort was situated on a hill on Christina creek, not far from where it empties itself into the Delaware, and still nearer to the mouth of Brandywine creek; it would command the passage at Christina ferry. Behind that fort was the town, of which the engineer, Lindström, has drawn a plan; see

New Gottenburg, laying waste all the houses and plantations without the fort, killing the cattle, and plundering the inhabitants of every thing that they could lay their hands on; so that after a siege of fourteen days, and many fruitless propositions to obtain more humane treatment, the Swedes were obliged to surrender that fortress, for want of men and ammunition. It was, however, agreed, that all the cannon belonging to the crown and the company should be restored, and there was an inventory made of them. The Swedes then marched out with their arms, with flying colours, lighted matches, drums beating, and fifes playing, and the Dutch took possession of the fort, put down the Swedish flag and hoisted their own. The officers and principal people were made prisoners and carried to New Amsterdam; the common people submitted to the conquerors, and the Dutch remained in possession of the country. All this is stated, more at large,

Campanius, p. 81. The fortress has been destroyed, since the invasion of the Dutch, in 1655. In 1745, a Spanish privateer attempted to land in the Delaware; but the people rose in arms, and prevented it. On that occasion, Christina fort had the good fortune to emerge from its long state of oblivion: in digging the ground, there were found pieces of money with Queen Christina's stamp. On the 31st of March, 1755, on taking up, by chance, some pieces of the walls, there were found many cannon balls, granadoes and other similar things, which had been kept carefully concealed, exactly one hundred years. After the peace of Aix la Chapelle, notwithstanding the destruction of that fort, the people were still able to fire an English salute, (five guns,) on the passage of the Governor, who was going to meet the legislature at Newcastle. Although the English, since they have had possession of this country, have done all in their power to destroy every vestige of the Swedish government, yet the name of our glorious Queen will for ever live in those of the *Christina* congregation, *Christina* church, *Christina* hundred, *Christina* fort, *Christina* creek, *Christina* ferry, *Christina* bridge, &c."

The patriotic lamentations of this honest Swede, have appeared to us well worthy of being preserved; therefore, we have thought it right to insert them in this place. But, alas! the revered name has already been changed into *Christiana!*

by Governor Rising, and the engineer, Lindström, in the accounts which they have respectively given of these transactions.

As the Dutch had committed this outrage upon the Swedes without any cause or provocation, so they were not allowed much time to enjoy their triumph; for, in the year 1664, King Charles II. of England, sent over troops with four commissioners to Virginia; for the purpose, as was said, of surveying the country, and ascertaining its divisions and boundaries; by which opportunity they expelled the Dutch from the territory, first taking possession of their principal city of New Amsterdam, and then, of their town and fortress of *Aurania* and *Arosapha*.* Then they took Delaware Castle,† which was peopled by Swedes and Dutchmen; they turned out the governor, and the Swedes as well as the Dutch, submitted to the English government, and became its subjects. The Dutch governor‡ was permitted to remain in his house as before, as is related by Richardson Blome, in his Description of America, chapter 5.

Thus, this province of New Sweden came under the English government, and so remained until the year 1681, when the said King Charles II. made a present of it to a nobleman, called William Penn, as well in consideration of the well known services of his father, Lord Penn, as of his own merit, and reserved only by way of homage two beaver skins, to be delivered to him in England every year, as by the deed of gift, dated at Westminster, the 4th of March, 1681, more fully appears. Afterwards, in the following year, 1682, the said Sir William Penn went over to that country with twenty ships, and after a voyage of six weeks,

* Fort Orange, now Albany.

† Newcastle on Delaware.

‡ Stuyvesant.

arrived there,* on the 1st of November,† of that year. On his first arrival, he did all in his power to ingratiate himself with the Christians, and afterwards, with the Indians who inhabited the country: in order the better to induce the Christians to be faithful and obedient to him, he proclaimed a body of excellent laws, amongst which were the following:—

1. No one within this province shall be molested on account of his religion or belief, but all shall be at liberty to set up and build churches and schools as they shall think proper.

2. Sundays shall be dedicated to the public service of God and religious instruction, and shall be observed with earnestness and zeal.

3. In order that youth may be properly trained up, the inhabitants shall assemble together, to encourage each other and their children to the glory of God and a Christian life.

4. Courts of justice shall be held at fixed periods, where justice shall be administered to the citizens.

5. In every city, town, or district, there shall be magistrates, who shall cause the laws to be executed and justice to be done.

6. Profane swearing, blasphemy, taking God's name in vain, common scolding, or brawling, cheating, and drunkenness shall be punished with the pillory.

7. All mechanics shall be satisfied with the price fixed by law for their labour.

8. Every child, after he shall have arrived at the age of twelve years, shall be bound apprentice to some trade, occupation; or business.

He also secured the friendship and favour of the Indians,

* William Penn landed with a single ship called the *Welcome*. Other ships with passengers preceded and followed him.

† William Penn landed at Newcastle on the 24th of October, O. S.

by making valuable presents to their chiefs: he afterwards purchased of them one piece of land after another; so that, gradually, he extended his possessions into the interior of the country.

Having thus obtained full possession of the province, he called it after his own name, *Pennsylvania*.^{*} He caused a city to be built, called *Philadelphia*, which is situated on a neck of land, between the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, extending one mile in length on the Delaware, and two miles in breadth from river to river. At about half a mile from Philadelphia, a number of German emigrants were permitted by the King of England, to establish a colony of their nation, which they began in the year 1685, and called the place *Germanopolis*, or Germantown. Of which a more particular account will be found in William Penn's relation, and in Daniel Pastorius's Description of this province.

^{*} It was called Pennsylvania against his will, the king insisting upon it. He wished it to be called *Sylvania* or *New Wales*.

CHAPTER X.

Of the condition of the Swedes in New Sweden, after it ceased to be under the Swedish crown; how King Charles XI., of glorious memory, sent thither priests, with religious books, and in what situation those priests found the people on their arrival.

As to what concerns the Swedes in America, after they ceased to be under the government of Sweden, it is best to let them speak for themselves by transcribing their letter, written in 1693, to John Thelin, post-master at Gottenburg, in which they request that priests and religious books may be sent to them. The letter is as follows:—

“As to what concerns our situation in this country, in general, we are almost all of us husbandmen; we plough, and sow, and cultivate the land; and as to our meat and drink, we live according to the old Swedish custom. This country is very rich and fruitful: it produces, God be praised, all sorts of grain, all that we plant and sow gives us plentiful returns, so that we are richly supplied with meat and drink, and we send out yearly to our neighbours on this continent and the neighbouring islands, bread, grain, flour, and oil; we have here, God be thanked, all kinds of venison, birds and fishes. Our wives and daughters employ themselves in spinning wool and flax, and many of them in weaving, so that we have good reason to thank the Almighty for our daily support. We only wish we also had good and faithful shepherds and guardians of our souls, who might feed us with the bread of life, such as the preaching of God’s word,

and the administration of the sacraments, according to our holy rites. We live in peace and friendship with the Indians; they have not for many years molested us, or done us any injury.

“Further, since this country has ceased to be under the government of Sweden, we are bound to acknowledge and declare, for the sake of truth, that we have been well and kindly treated, as well by the Dutch, as by his Majesty the King of England, our gracious sovereign: on the other hand, we, the Swedes, have been and still are true and faithful to him in words and in deeds; we always have had over us good and gracious magistrates, and we live in the greatest union, amity, and peace with each other.”

Thus, although the Swedes had lived happily in that country, both under the Dutch and the English government, since they ceased to be under that of the Swedish crown; yet at last, they felt the want of ministers of the gospel to take care of their souls: they began to hunger after God’s word, so that they had no rest, and spared no exertion, but wrote a number of letters to the mother country, in order to obtain ministers who should preserve amongst them the true evangelical Lutheran doctrine; at last, they wrote the following, which we have thought proper to preserve.

“His Royal Majesty having been graciously pleased to consent that there should be sent to us pastors and religious books, as soon as possible, after the receipt of our answer to your letter which has duly reached us, we humbly and jointly request that there may be sent to us two Swedish priests, learned in the Holy Scriptures, who may maintain themselves and us in the true orthodox doctrines, against all false opinions and foreign sects, by which we may be surrounded, and who may make opposition to us; so that we may preserve our true, pure, holy and undefiled Lutheran faith, which we always will acknowledge in the face of the

world, before God and man; and if it should be necessary, which God prevent, we shall be ready to seal with our blood.* We also request, that those priests may be men of good moral lives and characters; so that they may instruct our youth by their example, and lead them into a pious and virtuous way of life.

“We also humbly request, that there may be sent to us twelve bibles, three books of sermons, forty-two manuals, a hundred religious tracts, two hundred catechisms, and two hundred primers. As soon as we receive those books, we shall promptly and thankfully pay for the same whatever may be required, or we shall send the money to any place that may be desired. And as the priests will require to be supported, we engage ourselves to maintain them to the best of our abilities. As soon as this, our humble letter shall have been despatched, we shall lay out a piece of land for a church, and for a dwelling for the priests. If these, our requests, be granted, we shall gratefully remember them in our prayers to Almighty God. We beg that you, Mr. John Thelin, will exert yourself to obtain these things for us, and to forward them to us as soon as possible, for which we shall be glad to make you every return in our power.”

The above letter was dated, Pennsylvania, the 31st of May, 1693, and signed by thirty persons. As soon as it arrived at Stockholm, his Majesty Charles XI, of glorious memory, in order to promote the preservation of our holy religion among this small number of old settlers in America, and desirous to satisfy their hungry and thirsty souls, and provide them with the quickening of the word of God, wrote the following letter to the late Doctor Olaus Suebilius, archbishop of Upsal.

* The Lutheran liturgy has, for several years, ceased to be used in the Swedish Church at Philadelphia, that of the Protestant Episcopal Church having been substituted for it.

“CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, and of the Goths and Vandals, &c. &c.

“Our faithful and well-beloved archbishop. We send you herewith, an extract of a letter which the Swedish colonists residing on the South river, in America, have written to John Thelin, the post-master at Gottenburg, and which has been deposited in our chancery. We have seen with great satisfaction the pious anxiety of those people to preserve among them the pure evangelical doctrine, and transmit it to their children. Therefore, we have been moved to give them all the aid in our power. And as they request to have two priests sent to them, it is our gracious will that you do all in your power to procure for them such good and learned pastors as they desire to have; and it is our will that as soon as they shall be ready for their voyage, they be provided with the necessary funds to defray their expenses. You will also procure the bibles, sermons, psalm-books, religious treatises, catechisms, and primers which they wish to have, so that the priests may take those books along with them. We have no doubt, that those ministers will be found to be good and faithful labourers in the Lord’s vineyard. On this we commend you to the grace of Almighty God. Given at Stockholm, the 18th of February, 1696.

“*By the King,*

CHARLES.

“C. PIPER.”

On receipt of this letter from his Majesty, the archbishop immediately sent his most humble answer, praying that the king would be pleased to permit that the priests who should go to America might, after remaining there a reasonable time, be allowed to return home if they should think proper, on which his Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following answer:—

“CHARLES, by the grace of God, &c. Our trusty and well-

beloved archbishop. We have received your letter, dated the 21st inst., in which you promise, according to our gracious command, to do all in your power to procure two learned and pious priests to go to America, to instruct the Swedes residing there, in the pure evangelical doctrines; but you request on their behalf, that they may be assured that after staying some years in that country, others will be sent thither, and these will be permitted to return home to their native land. We hereby authorize you to give them that assurance, and so we commend you to the grace of Almighty God. Given at Stockholm, the 22d of February, 1696.

“By the King,

CHARLES.

“C. PIPER.”

On receipt of this letter, three learned priests, desirous of going to America, were selected from the royal academy at Upsal; their names were *Andreas Rudman*, of *Gestricia*; *Erick Biörk*, of *Wesmania*, and *Jonas Auren*, of *Wermland*: The two first were appointed as ordinary ministers, but Auren was a volunteer, who chose to perform the voyage with them. And, in order that they should meet with no impediment in their said voyage, the king ordered a letter to be given to them, directed to Mr. Christopher Leyoncrona, the secretary of legation at the court of London, desiring him to take care that they should be permitted to proceed with their books and effects to America without hindrance or molestation. And the Right Reverend Archbishop Doctor O. Suebilius gave them, also, a letter to the Swedish congregations in America, the tenor of which is as follows:—

“To the venerable Swedish congregations of Christians in America, health and benediction in God the Father, through Jesus Christ.

“Whereas, your laudable zeal for the promotion of the evangelical doctrines among the Swedish American people,

has induced you to request of his gracious Majesty to send over to you two learned priests, to preach God's holy word, and administer the sacraments amongst you, and his Majesty has been pleased to grant your humble request, and has given to me in charge to procure and send to you such priests as you desire to have; I now hereby inform you, that in obedience to his said Majesty's royal order, and in compliance with my official duty, I have selected the two persons, bearers of this letter; to wit: the Reverend and learned Andrew Rudman, candidate in philosophy, and Erick Biörk, who, on examination have been found competent to the office, and who are known to be of good moral characters, and will take upon themselves this long and hazardous voyage. They are supplied by the king's royal favour with the necessary funds for that voyage, which, I wish, by God's grace, may be safe and prosperous. I, therefore, recommend them to you as proper teachers for the Swedish congregations. They will do their best to promote your spiritual welfare, by preaching God's word, expounding the prophets and other canonical books of the Old and New Testament, as well as the Athanasian and Nicene symbols, and the true doctrines contained in the Augsburg confession of faith, which they will explain clearly and purely, without any mixture of superstition or false doctrines. They will administer the holy sacraments according to God's ordinances, and they will instruct your children in the catechism. They will also, it is hoped, hold up to you examples of true Christian life, and, in short, by their doctrine as well as by their conduct, they will show themselves worthy of being your spiritual shepherds. We, therefore, desire that you will receive the said Andrew Rudman, and Erick Biörk, in the said capacity, and that you will be submissive and obedient to them in every thing concerning their said office. Whereupon we commend you to

Almighty God, hoping that by means of faith and true knowledge, he will keep you stedfast in the Christian doctrines and lead you to eternal salvation. Given under our hand and seal in the chapter house at Upsal, the 25th of June, 1696.

“OLAUS SUEBILIUS,
“*Archbishop of Upsal.*”

The said priests being ready for their voyage, sailed on the 4th of August, in the said year, 1696, and arrived on the 5th at Daleroen. On the 7th, they put to sea, and on the 23d, landed at Helsingör. On the 8th of September, they sailed from thence; and on the 10th of October, arrived at London, where they stayed over the winter. On the 4th of February, in the following year, they embarked on board the English ship Jaffris, on their voyage to America, and safely arrived after stopping at other places in the Swedish settlements, on the 23d of June, 1697, where they were received with great joy. What took place in the Swedish settlements, and in what condition they found the people, will appear from the following extracts of letters written by the Rev. Erick Biörk, to the Right Reverend superintendent, Doctor Israel Kolmodin, dated Christina Creek, the 29th of October, 1697.

“I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 4th of February, to inform you that we were about to leave London. We went on board that day, but were detained some time at Deal and Portsmouth, until the convoys and the captains could be cleared; at last, on the 22d of March, we weighed anchor at Portsmouth; and having passed Plymouth, the last land that we saw on the 24th, was the Lizard, and from that time, we saw no land until we reached Virginia. I will not detain you with the particulars of our voyage, which was as usual made up of storms and fair weather; but shall at once tell you, that on the 31st of May, in the afternoon, we

found ourselves in 34 fathoms depth, and were delighted to see land before us, which we were informed was Smith's Island. We tacked about until the 2d of July, in the morning, when we cast anchor in seven fathoms depth, with joy and gladness.

“We went afterwards to seek a safe harbour in James river, in which we remained some days, while the captain was making his arrangements; thence, on the 10th of June, we sailed by Maryland, Newport, Rappahannock, Potomac, Point Lookout, the first point in Maryland, and Patuxent, to a town on the river Severn, called Annapolis, where resides the Governor, Francis Nicholson, and there we cast anchor on the 19th of June. I would fain relate to you all the attentions that we received from the said governor, but suffice it to say, that he treated us with the greatest kindness and respect. Our gracious sovereign, and his royal family were duly remembered; and had we been sent recommended to that gentleman directly from Sweden, he could not have done more for us. We remained four days in his house during which time, he did all in his power to entertain us and show us every thing worth seeing; when at last, we were obliged to go on board our ship, to continue our voyage, he took all the trouble upon himself to see every thing properly done; and when we took leave of him, he accompanied us part of the way, gave us a sum of money, and sent two men with us to put on board as many bottles as they could carry filled with all kinds of liquors. The governor is a single man, looks like a brave soldier, and is greatly attached to his king, of whom he is a faithful servant. On the 23d of June, we went on board with all our things; and we can never forget the captain's goodness, who carried us through such a long voyage without charging any freight or passage money. At last, with a fair wind, we sailed about

seventeen English miles, to a place called *Trans town*,* situated on Elk river, at the distance of an English mile from our Swedish settlement, where we joyfully landed, returning thanks to God for having safely brought us through such a long voyage.

“ Before we had been there a day and a night, the people flocked in great numbers to see us: they came from the distance of ten or twelve Swedish miles, in order to conduct us to their places of meeting. They welcomed us with great joy, and would hardly believe that we were arrived until they saw us. They were, indeed, in great want of spiritual assistance; for at the same time that I, though unworthy, was appointed to this high office, they were deprived by death of their venerable teacher, the Rev. Jacob Fabritius; and since that time, have had nobody but their reader Charles Christopher Springer, a plain, honest, pious man, but devoid of talents: however, by the grace of God, who can produce great things out of little ones, they did tolerably well with him, as he was very zealous, and spared no pains to promote their spiritual welfare, as I have myself always witnessed.

On the 27th of June, we had only a small meeting of prayer and thanksgiving, at the lower congregation. On the 29th, we went up to Philadelphia, a clever little town,† and waited on the Lieutenant Governor William Markham, who, when he saw our credentials, received us with great kindness.

On the 30th of June, we visited the upper congregation at a place called Wicaco,‡ which is the nearest to Philadelphia, and where the Swedes have a church, in which we gave them an account of our voyage and objects, beginning with their own letter to the post-master at Gottenburg, then his

* Probably French town.

† The little town was then about 14 years old.

‡ Wicaco is the place where the Swedish church now stands, and was then out of Philadelphia. It shows that the buildings did not begin that way.

Royal Majesty's orders given thereupon, &c. &c. We did the same thing on the 2d of July to the lower congregation at Tranhook,* where they also have a church; on the 11th of July, I, their unworthy minister, clad in my surplice, delivered my first discourse to them in Jesus' name on the subject of the justice of the Pharisees, (*de justitiâ Phariseorum.*)

“And now, to say something more respecting our congregations, I must confess that they did not entirely comply with what they had promised in their letter: the reason was, that they were most uncomfortably situated, the land which led to their church being then overflowed with water, and yet they would not abandon the place until they should have priests to whom they could commit the work in which, through God's grace, I have succeeded and agreed with them, to fix on a more convenient place to build a stone church, to be called Christian church. I hope it will be done within a year, for the congregations are rich, and easily persuaded, by good reasons, such as I have given them. In comparing the religious situation of these people, their divine service, attention to the ordinances and the instruction of their youth in the catechism and other things with the congregations in Sweden, I must say, that these are quite irregular, and that makes us fear that we shall have great labour and difficulty; but we remember our oaths, which are always before our minds, and will endeavour to bring them as nearly as possible to the state of the congregations in Sweden. This state of things is not to be wondered at; for their priests, particularly the last, were old and infirm, and could not pay proper attention to the education of youth; but we hope, if God grant us life, to mend these matters; so that there will be churches, dwellings and gardens, for the priests;

* This place is not laid down on the maps. It was near Christina, at about one mile and a half distance; in what direction is not known.

and that divine service will be performed, the ordinances administered, and the youth taught their catechism, and regular examinations take place, so that those who come after us, will find that a plain easy road which we now find rough and difficult. This difficulty is so much the greater that we are alone and the youths are numerous; but we hope that our superiors at home will not let us sink under the labour, particularly if God grant life to our most gracious king, whom we never cease to remember in our prayers.

The country here is delightful, as it has always been described, and overflows with every blessing; so that the people live very well without being compelled to too much or too severe labour. The taxes are very light: the farmers, after their work is over, live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as well as the respectable inhabitants of the towns. They have fresh meat and fish in abundance, and want nothing of what other countries produce: they have plenty of grain wherewith to make bread, and plenty of drink. May God continue them in the enjoyment of these blessings. There are no poor in this country, but they all provide for themselves; for the land is rich and fruitful, and no man who will labour can suffer want.

“The Indians and we are as one people; we live in much greater friendship with them than with the English: they call the Swedes, in their language, their *own people*; they were very glad when we came, as they now see that Sweden does not abandon them. They are also very fond of learning the catechism, which has been printed in their language; they like to have it read to them, and they have engaged Mr. Charles Springer to teach their children to read it. Who knows what God has yet in store for them, if our lives should be spared, when we shall have acquired their idiom? We shall spare no labour to attain that object. They go mostly naked, but many of them are clothed; they are very cour-

teous in their behaviour, and fond of obliging the Swedes: they take great pains to help them, and prevent any harm happening to them.

“In order to forward our designs, I hope our spiritual fathers will assist us with some of the newly printed books, particularly two church Bibles, as those we have are not fit to be used in divine service; there are always opportunities between England and this country. I cannot mention without astonishment, but to the honour of these people, that we hardly found here three Swedish books; but they were so anxious for the improvement of their children that they lent them to one another, so that they can all read tolerably well. None of the books that his majesty graciously gave to us are now out of use; they are distributed among the families, who bless the king for that valuable present, for which they are truly glad and thankful. May Almighty God preserve his majesty, the royal family, and our dear country, in peace and gladness. Though distant from it, we shall never cease while we breathe to offer up our prayers to Heaven for its prosperity.

This statement is confirmed by the Rev. Andrew Rudman, in the letter he wrote to Professor Jacob Arrhenius, at Upsal, dated Pennsylvania, 20th October, 1697, of which we give the following extracts.

“Our ship arrived in Virginia, and from thence we sailed to Maryland, where we left her on the 23d of June, and proceeded up the Bay in a sloop to Elk River. There we immediately found Swedes, who heartily rejoiced at our arrival. The news of it spread through the whole country, and the people came in haste from a distance of more than thirty miles, and conducted us to their places of meeting, where after we had waited on the governor, they were called together, and our credentials were read to them; then we entered in God’s name upon our holy office, I officiating to

the upper congregation at Wicaco, and the Rev. Mr. Biörk to the lower at Christina.

“The churches are old and in bad condition; wherefore, with God’s help, we are endeavouring to build new ones. The lower one is at Christina, the upper at Wicaco, or Passayunk: the priest’s garden and mansion house are at the distance of four English miles from Philadelphia, a clever town, built by Quakers. The population is very thin and scattered, all along the river shore; so that some have sixteen miles to walk or ride to go to church: nevertheless they very regularly attend divine service on Sundays, &c.” He further writes:—

“The houses are built after the Swedish manner; the women brew excellent drink as in Sweden; they have also a liquor made of apples or peaches which they call cider; it is very pleasant to the taste, and very wholesome.

“In order to build our church, we are about to raise the sum of four hundred pounds sterling; but that will not be difficult, they are so very glad to have us among them; they look upon us as if we were angels from heaven. Of this they have assured me with many tears; and we may truly say that there is no place in the world where a priest may be so happy and so well beloved as in this country.

“The English have received us extremely well, and some of them even come to our meetings. We live scattered among the English and Quakers, yet our language is preserved as pure as any where in Sweden. There are about twelve hundred persons that speak it. There are also Welshmen, who speak their own mother tongue, besides Englishmen, Dutchmen, and some Frenchmen. Almost every one can read, at which we are much rejoiced. God be thanked for his goodness, which has never yet been wanting to us.

“As to the government, it is very mild, and the people

live quietly under Governor William Markham, who is exceedingly well disposed towards us. He has reproached us with not going often enough to see him, and has left us quite at liberty as to our church discipline. There are many Swedes employed in the administration of this government; some of them are counsellors, whom they call judges; many of them are officers—captains, constables, ensigns, &c. There is plenty of work for us. We are alone; our congregations are scattered; our youth numerous, and but few un-instructed. We have schools and churches to build, &c. &c.”

Further, as to the building of their churches; how they began, how they proceeded, and lastly, how they brought the work to an end, the Rev. Mr. Biörk gives an account of in his letter to the Hon. Charles Wyström, dated 19th November, 1700, in these words:—

“Shortly after my arrival at this place, I persuaded the congregation to agree in selecting a better place for a church than Tranhook, to wit, Christina; and I immediately commenced the work, in the Lord’s name, though with little money: but I never doubted, notwithstanding my unworthiness, of Almighty assistance. I therefore made a bargain with bricklayers and carpenters, and bound them and me so strongly, that otherwise the work would not have been finished in less than three years. We laid the first stone at the north corner on the 28th of May, 1698. The size of the church inside of the walls is 60 feet in length, 30 feet in breadth, and 20 feet in height. The walls are of hard gray stone up to the windows, and three and a half feet thick; but above that only two feet.

“There are four doors; a large one at the west end, and a similar one at the south: there are two smaller ones on the north side, one of which leads into the vestry room. There are two windows on the north, and two on the south, all of the same size; but there is a larger one at the east end, and

a small one over the western door. There is a small belfry at the east end. The roof is arched with logs, and plastered with lime; the outside covering is of cedar shingles.

“ All the pews in the church are made of fir, with entrance doors; the choir is circular, and the inner banister, as well as the pulpit, of walnut wood, well turned. The choir is on one side fifteen, and on the other twenty feet broad, being five feet less on each side than the breadth of the church. There is a large aisle, eight feet in breadth, from the choir to the large door, and a cross aisle from the north door to that on the south. Between the choir and the first row of pews there is also a little way with six pews on each side, to the cross aisle; these six pews are not in the way, but may be easily reached by a little passage from each door on both sides of the choir. There are also long pews along the walls for the men, from the south door to the east end; and there are seats in the choir for the priests. It is the same on the other side from the north door to the pulpit, and from the vestry door, near which there is a pew for the priest's wife, and one situated in like manner on each side of the choir. In the lower part of the church, from the north and south doors to that on the west, there is a large aisle, with eight pews on each side.

The dedication of the said church to the service of Almighty God took place in the following year, 1699, on Trinity Sunday. The dedication sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Rudman, who took his text from Ps. 126, v. 3. “The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.” In honour of the triune God, this first building was called holy Trinity Church. Mr. Rudman and I were clad in white surplices, made after our manner, as well as could be done; but other church vestments could not be procured here. The Rev. Mr. Auren preached afterwards at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, where we made a collection of about two hundred dollars; for there were many hundred persons,

present of all religions, whom I entertained afterwards with meat and drink in the best manner I could; the neighbours all around partook of the feast, and several carried provisions home with them.

At that time not a single stone was laid of the other church, as it was long before the people could agree on a suitable place. The same bricklayers and carpenters were employed; and the work went on so successfully, that on the 2d day of July, being the first Sunday after Trinity, in the present year, every thing was finished; and on that day the dedication took place, when I preached from 2 Sam. v. 29, "Therefore, now let it please thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may continue for ever before thee: for thou, O Lord God, hast spoken it; and with thy blessing let the house of thy servant be blessed for ever." There was a great number of English and other persons from Philadelphia present at this ceremony, for whom I delivered a summary of my discourse in the English language.

"This church is of the same size as the other, only that one of the corners is shortened in order to make room for a belfry or steeple, which has been begun at the west end, but must remain for some time unfinished, in order to see whether God will bless us so far as that we may have a bell, and in what manner we can procure it. This church is built of stone to the foundation, but not so good as that of which the lower church is built. The buildings will cost us, according to our reckoning, about twenty thousand dollars, Swedish money, and something more; of which I am yet indebted in five thousand dollars, and my colleague is in about the same situation. We have nothing to rely on but the efforts of the congregations to raise that money as well as they can.

"Thus, through God's blessing, we have completed the great work, and built two fine churches, superior to any

built in this country, particularly that at Christina; so that the English themselves, who now govern this province, and are beyond measure richer than we are, wonder at what we have done. It is but lately that two governors, with their suites, have come to this place, and visited our churches. The one is Francis Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, and our great patron; the other is named Blackstone, and is Governor of Maryland. With all this we want some ornaments for our church, which are not to be procured here, such as a couple of bells, handsome chalices and pattens, and chandeliers or lustres. We have also room for a small organ. If we should obtain these things through the generosity of those who are able and willing to honour themselves by honouring their Maker, we shall consider it as a particular mark of divine favour, and their names shall be recorded as the benefactors of our church. In the mean while, we are well satisfied with the blessings that we have received from Almighty God; we hope he will preserve our country from the war* that is impending, and seems to threaten Sweden. We hope also that in time we shall have obtained the things that we most want, particularly books. I have at last established a school here, with an able teacher at the head of it, who also serves as parish clerk, an office which I was before obliged to perform. Things are not yet on such a steady footing as I could wish, but I shall do all I can, and no man can do more.

“Our congregations more and more require our care and attention. My colleague and I do all in our power to have divine service performed here as in Sweden; we instruct the people in their Catechism; we travel from place to place, and from house to house: in short, we do all in our power to fulfil the important duties that are imposed upon us.”

* The succession war for the Crown of Spain, in which England was engaged against France.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Swedish Priests who first planted the Gospel in New Sweden.

At the conclusion of this account of the Swedish settlements in America, it is just and proper that we should say something of those priests who first planted the gospel in that country. We shall, therefore, record here all the information that we have been able to obtain respecting them.

In the first place, there was a minister named Reorus Torkillus, of whom the Rev. Mr. Campanius gives the following account: "He was born in West Gothland, in the year 1608. After going through his studies, he was made professor in a college at Gottenburg, and afterwards was chaplain to the superintendent Mr. Andrew Printz. He afterwards went to Virginia, where he remained four years, and took a wife, by whom he had one child. On the 23d of February, 1643, he fell sick at Fort Christina, and died on the 7th of September, at the age of 35 years."

Secondly, John Campanius Holm was born at Stockholm, the 15th of August, 1601. His father was Jonas Peter, clerk of the congregation of St. Clara. He went through his studies with great reputation, and was a long time preceptor in the orphan's house at Stockholm. On the 3d of February, 1642, he was called by the government to accompany Governor Printz to America, where he remained six years pastor of the congregations there. On his return home, he was made first preacher of the Admiralty, and afterwards was pastor of Frost Hultz and Herenwys in Upland, where he

translated Luther's Catechism, with other things, into the American Virginian language, a work which he had begun in America, and which he here perfected. He died on the 17th of September, 1683, at the age of 82, and was buried in the church of Frost Hultz, where a handsome monument was erected in the choir to his memory.

The third in order is Lawrence Charles Lokenius. Of him we have not been able to find any memorial, except that he went to Virginia in the time of Governor Printz, and there was Swedish pastor until the year 1688, when he died in the Lord.

There was also a minister in Governor Printz's time, named Israel Holgh, who, after his return home, was minister in the island of Sokn, in West Gothland.

Besides these, there have been two Swedish priests in Virginia, in Governor Rising's time; but they did not remain there more than a year and ten months, because the country was taken by the Dutch. The one was named Peter, and the other Matthias: their surnames are not known. After their return home, they were appointed pastors, the former at Smaländ, and the latter in Helsingland.

Since that time there has also been a Dutch priest, named Jacob Fabritius, who preached and administered the sacraments in the Dutch language, for more than sixteen years; and although he at last lost his mental faculties by extreme old age, it is said that he was an excellent pastor to his people. The Swedish congregations were served by a Swede, born at Stockholm, named Charles Christopher Springer. He sang psalms, and prayed with the people, and read discourses to them out of a collection of Swedish sermons, as we have already mentioned before.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The following list of the ministers who successively presided over the Swedish churches in New Sweden, is extracted from an interesting dissertation, "De Colonia Nova Suecia," printed at Upsal, in the Latin language, in 1825, by Mr. Charles David Arfwedson, of Stockholm, a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

I. PASTORS OVER THE SWEDISH CHURCHES GENERALLY.

1. *Reorus Torhillus* accompanied P. Menewe in his voyage to America, and died there in 1643, aged 35.

2. *John Campanius Holm*, (our author's grandfather,) resided six years in New Sweden, from 1642 to 1648. He translated Luther's Catechism into the Delaware language, which was published, together with a vocabulary of that idiom.

3. *Lawrence Lock* came to New Sweden in the time of Gov. Printz, and presided over the churches at Tinicum, and Christina. He gave up the first office to one *Fabritius*, a German, and kept the latter until his death in 1688.

4. *Israel Holgh* came to America a few years afterwards, but soon returned home.

5. *Peter*—came to New Sweden with Gov. Rising, and remained there something short of two years.

6. *Matthias*—went to New Sweden in 1656, on board the ship *Mercury*, and returned home two years afterwards.

7. *Jacobus Fabritius* preached his first sermon at Wicacoa: at the end of five years he lost his sight, and could no longer perform his sacred duties. Then the care of the churches was left to Charles Springer, of Stockholm, a layman, who read the Scriptures to the congregations.

In the year 1696, at the earnest prayer of the Swedish colonists, King Charles XI. sent three clergymen over to America, to wit, Andreas Rudman, Erick Biörk and Jonas Auren, who arrived in 1697.

II. CHURCH AT WICACOA.

1. *Andreas Rudman*. The churches at Tinicum and Wicacoa being almost in ruins, he built a new one at Wicacoa. In 1702 he resigned his office to Andreas Sandal, and died in 1708.

2. *Andreas Sandal*, Provost in 1714: died in 1744, at Hedemora, in Sweden.

3. *Jones Lidman*, went over to America in 1719; Provost in 1723. Returned home 1730.

The pulpit being vacant, J. Eueberg took care of the church.

4. *Gabriel Falk*, took possession of the church in 1733, was deposed in the same year.

5. *John Dylander*, went to America in 1737. He died, beloved and honoured by all, in 1741.

6. *Gabriel Näsman*, arrived in 1743, returned home in 1751.

7. *Olaus Parlin*, pastor and provost, 1749; died, 1757.

8. *Carolus Magnus Wrangel*, sent in 1759, returned 1768; died, 1786.

9. *Andreas Goranson*, sent in 1766; entered on the duties of his office 1767; returned home 1785: died, 1800.

10. *Nicholas Collin*, pastor, 1786. See below.

III. CHURCH AT CHRISTINA.

1. *Erick Biörck*, built a new church at Fort Christina, in lieu of that at Tranhook, a quarter of a Swedish mile* from the castle, which was falling to ruins. Provost in 1711; returned home 1714: died, 1740.

2. *Andreas Hesselius*, sent over in 1711; provost, 1719; recalled, 1723; died, 1733.

3. *Samuel Hesselius*, brother to his predecessor. Sent over, 1729; remained in America until 1731; died, 1755.

4. *John Eusberg*, pastor, 1723; returned home, 1742.

5. *Petrus Tranberg*, sent to Racoon and Penn's neck, 1742; died, 1748.

6. *Israel Acrelius*, sent to America, 1749; remained there until 1756; died, 1800, aged 86.

7. *Erick Unander*, sent from Racoon and Penn's neck to Christina in 1756.

8. *Andreas Borell*, sent over to preside over the Swedish churches in America, in 1757; arrived there, 1759; pastor in 1762; received the King's diploma, constituting him provost, (*propositus*,) over all the Swedish churches in America, where he died in 1767.

IV. CHURCH AT RACoon AND PENN'S NECK.

1. *Jonas Luren*, appointed 1706; died in the exercise of his functions, 1713.

2. *Abraham Lidenius*, sent over 1711; pastor, 1714; returned home, 1724; died 1728.

* About one and a half American mile.

3. *Petrus Tranberg* and *Andreas Windrufwa*, sent over, 1726. They divided the churches between them, and so continued until 1728, when Windrufwa died. Tranberg was sent to Christina, where he died in 1748. In that interval, this church had no pastor.

4. *John Sandin*, appointed pastor 1748; died the same year.

5. *Erick Unander*, sent over, 1749; pastor at Christina, 1756.

6. *John Lidenius*, (son of Abraham, above mentioned,) appointed pastor in the place of Unander, 1756.

7. *John Wicksell*, sent over, 1760; arrived in America, 1762; returned home, 1774, died, 1800.

8. NICHOLAS COLLIN, of Upsal, sent over, 1771; pastor, 1778; provost and pastor at Wicacoa, 1786. He is now 80 years of age, enjoying sound mind and body, and performing his duties to the general satisfaction.*

* The Rev. Dr. Collin died at Philadelphia, (Wicacoa,) beloved, respected, and regretted, the 7th of October, 1831. He was a member, and, for some time, one of the Vice Presidents of the American Philosophical Society. He was also one of the 18 founders of the society, "for the commemoration of the landing of William Penn." With him ended the Swedish missions to this country."

BOOK III.**OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW SWEDEN, OTHERWISE CALLED PENNSYLVANIA.****CHAPTER I.**

Of the Origin and Language of the Indians in Virginia and New Sweden.

AFTER having given a description of Virginia, and the manner in which it was settled by Europeans, we must now say something respecting the aborigines of the country, or Indians, as they are called. As to the opinions of the learned concerning their origin, we have spoken at large in the third chapter of the first book of this treatise; therefore we shall now turn to the Indians themselves, and inquire of them respecting their origin.

The Indians of New Sweden, as well as other tribes on the American continent, have various traditions current among themselves on this subject; but they are so foolish and so evidently fabulous, that for brevity's sake, we shall mention only one of them, which is given to us, amongst others, by Lewis Hennepin, in his description of America. "They relate," says he, "that a woman fell down from heaven, who, for a long time, hovered about in the air, but could not find a resting place any where; that the fishes in the sea had compassion on her, and a large tortoise raised her back out of the water, and offered it to her for a resting place, on which the woman descended, and chose it for her abode. Since that time, the æcum of the sea and a quantity of shells and

weeds gathered around the fish, gradually became solid earth, and at last grew into that large country which is now called America. But afterwards the woman began to feel tired of being alone, and fell asleep; when a spirit from heaven came down to her unperceived, by whom she had two sons. These two sons, however, when they grew up, could not agree together, the one being a better hunter than the other; their disunion increased every day, and at last went so far that they could not bear each other. One of them was wild and obstinate, and at the same time selfish; and bore an irreconcilable hatred to his brother, who was mild and good-natured, and at last was compelled to separate from the other; so that he returned to heaven; and there his innocence was made known by the thunder rolling over his brother's head. Some time afterward, the same spirit returned to the woman, and had by her two daughters from whom all mankind are descended."

"Although this story is evidently fabulous," writes the same author, "yet there may be some truth mixed with it. The sleep of the woman and the birth of the two sons seem to point to Adam's sleep, during which God took one of his ribs from his side and formed Eve out of it. The disunion of the two brothers is very much like the hatred between Cain and Abel: the one going up to heaven looks like the death of Abel; and the thunder which was heard from heaven seems like the banishment which God inflicted on the merciless murderer of his brother."

There are many other similar traditions among the Indians respecting their origin, all alike foolish and ridiculous; we will, therefore, say no more about them, but turn to the opinions of those Christians who have lived long among them. The above named Lewis Hennepin thinks that they are descended from the Jews, on account of many resemblances that he finds between those nations. Thus, the In-

dians live in huts as the Jews did under tents; they besmear themselves with grease; they have faith in dreams; they bewail their dead with loud lamentations; their women mourn a whole year for their relations, during which they abstain from feasts and dancing; they wear a veil upon their heads, and children mourn in the same manner for the death of their fathers and brothers. It appears as if God's curse had fallen upon them as it did upon the Jews; for they are a wild and headstrong race, have no fixed or certain habitations, &c.

This opinion is confirmed by Governor Sir William Penn, in his relation of Pennsylvania or New Sweden, which he sent to England on the 16th of October, 1683. He speaks in these words: "For their original, (the Indians,) I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a land not planted nor known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe: and he who intended that extraordinary judgment upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so exact a resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Berry Street in London when he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; the customs of women; with many other things that do now occur."

The language of these barbarians resembles also very much that of the Jews, which confirms the opinion of their Jewish origin: this the said William Penn has observed, as did also the Rev. John Campanius, in his time, to wit, in the year 1646. Sir William Penn, in the letter above men-

tioned, expresses himself as follows: "Their language is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew in signification, full. Like short hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer, imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs: for instance, *Octorockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oricton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poquesien*, all of which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *anna* is mother; *issimus*, a brother; *neteap*, friend; *usqueoret*, very good; *pane*, bread; *metsa*, eat; *matta*, no; *hatta*, to have; *payo*, to come; *Sepassen*, *Passijon*, the names of places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanse*, *Secatareus*, are the names of persons. If one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer *matta ne hatta*, which to translate is, 'Not I have,' instead of 'I have not.'

The Rev. John Campanius, by a comparison of words, has shown the affinity which exists between the Hebrew and the language of the Indians.

[Here the author makes a long Latin quotation from Campanius, to prove the affinity between the Hebrew and the Delaware Indian, in which, it appears to the translator, that he has completely failed: for instance, he derives the Indian word, which signifies *snow*, from a Hebrew verb, which he translates into Latin by *aptavit*, *disposuit*, *direxit*, *paravit*, *constituit*; because, says he, snow *prepares* the ground for vegetation by preserving it from the frost. The other affinities are much of the same kind. It is, therefore, thought best to refer the curious reader to the original text, which being written in Latin, every philologist can understand without the necessity of a translation.]

CHAPTER II.

Of the personal Appearance and moral Dispositions of the Indians.

THE American Indians are tall, strong, nimble, and their limbs are well proportioned: they have broad faces, small black eyes, flat noses, large lips, short broad teeth, but very white; they have no beard: their hair is black and straight, they cut it short, except a small tuft at the top of the head; their sachems and great men let it grow in a mesh of hair, which they twist; the king has two, hanging one on each side of the head. Their colour is not entirely black; but brown or yellowish; they wear no clothes, but go generally naked; for that reason they anoint themselves with bears' grease, and a kind of black paint which they find on the sea shore, that their bodies may endure better the heat of the sun. The women are rather handsome; with round faces, high breasts, and their bodies are straight and plump.

As to moral qualities, these Americans are acute and ingenious after their manner; for, although they are in darkness with regard to religious subjects and other intricate knowledge: yet, they are very sagacious in matters of business, and easily imitate what they see the Christians do, when it can be of use to them: nay, when they see the Swedes do something, they can steal their arts while talking with them, without the Swedes perceiving it; and they can make the instruments which the Swedes use, sometimes neater and better than the Swedes themselves.

In general, they show themselves friendly and upright in their intercourse with strangers who treat them in the same manner; but, sometimes, they can be very cunning and even roguish, of which Francis Daniel Pastorius relates an example, in a letter written from Pennsylvania, in 1684, which he has inserted in his description of that province. When he first came into the country, an Indian promised for a certain price to bring him a wild turkey; but, instead of that, he brought him a snake, and wanted to persuade him that it was a real turkey. Pastorius, however, explained to him the difference between the fowl and the reptile, and showed him that both were well known to him; on which the Indian turned to a Swede who was near to him and said, "I never should have thought that these newly arrived Germans already knew the birds of this country."

Otherwise, there is no difficulty in the intercourse with these barbarians: when they are not offended, they are an honest, good-hearted people, and will even expose themselves to death, for those for whom they profess friendship. This they have sufficiently proved to the Swedes: when the Dutch attacked them without any previous declaration, in the year 1655, then they not only warned the Swedes beforehand of the intended invasion, but themselves, unknown to the Swedes, fell upon the enemy and did them great injury for our sakes, and they even violated the women that fell into their hands; and as the Dutch did not quickly turn upon them, but rather sought to quiet the Swedes, the Indians took them by surprise, and destroyed their town and habitations to the ground, as is related by the engineer, Peter Lindström. They are also, very liberal to their friends; there is nothing, however valuable, that they will not divide with them: they have, indeed, not much to bestow, but be it much or little, they are always glad to share it; they neither care for to-morrow, as their hunting, fishery,

and trapping always supply them with a plentiful table; they wonder, on the contrary, at the Christians, when they see them so attentive to their comforts, and building for themselves houses and fortresses, as if they were to live for ever.

Among themselves, they are very friendly; they will not permit that a stranger shall suffer among them the least damage; but against their enemies, they are very cruel, as we will show more fully in its place. Their attachment to each other is strongly exemplified by what happened to my father and grandfather, who lived together among them: they asked permission to send an Indian man and woman to Sweden, to show them their country and its form of government, which the Indians at first, would not allow; but being very much pressed, they at last consented; but upon this condition, that the two Indians should be brought back safe and sound, in the same condition that they were taken away, otherwise, that the Indians should kill all the Swedes in the country; which contract was not agreed to, and the Indians remained at home. This, my father, Mr. John C. Holm, has related to me many times.

These Indians are the most sensible nation in all America, and are particularly well disposed towards the Christian religion; which the Rev. Mr. John Campanius in the preface to his translation of the catechism; the Rev. Mr. Rudman and the Rev. Mr. Biörk, in their letters from that country; and also, Mr. Pastorius, in his description of the province, sufficiently testify. As to their manners and customs, they have greatly changed since the Swedes first came among them. It has been observed and been a subject of regret, as Sir William Penn and others relate, that they have learned many vices by their intercourse with the Christians; particularly drunkenness, which was before unknown to them, as they drank nothing but pure water.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Clothing of the Indians.

THE Indians use no other clothing than a square piece of some kind of skin, which they wrap round their bodies. When they have something to do with the Christians, they make use of square pieces of blue or red cloth: otherwise, they go naked, and with their heads bare, except in winter, when they wrap themselves up in their skins with the hair inside, when the weather is cold, and outside, when it is not. For their legs and feet they have leggings and shoes made of deer-skins, not very different from those that are used by the Laplanders and Tartars.

They paint their bodies with a variety of colours, red, blue, and yellow, in lines, circles, and every kind of form: they paint their faces and their arms, particularly the women, with streaks and lines resembling snakes. They make use of every kind of colour, with black spots in the intervals.

When they wish to be very handsome, they adorn their necks and arms with strings of wampum* which they use also for money, and which, being strung on threads, look like pearls. The men, also, wear about their necks the thumbs of the enemies they have killed, by which they wish to show their manliness and bravery. They have also rings of tin or copper hanging from their ears, and sometimes small pieces of money; and in their hands they have a tobacco pipe

In the original, the word is *Zeband*, which we presume to mean *Wampum*.

a fathom long, which they lean upon as on a stick. The great men adorn their heads with feathers and variegated snake-skins; they also wear a kind of sash, made of skins and adorned with feathers, wampum, and other things after their fashion. Their sachems and chief warriors have begun to dress themselves in European cloth, of which they wrap around their bodies a square piece of different colours, some yellow, and some blue: they think themselves very elegant when dressed in this manner.

CHAPTER IV.

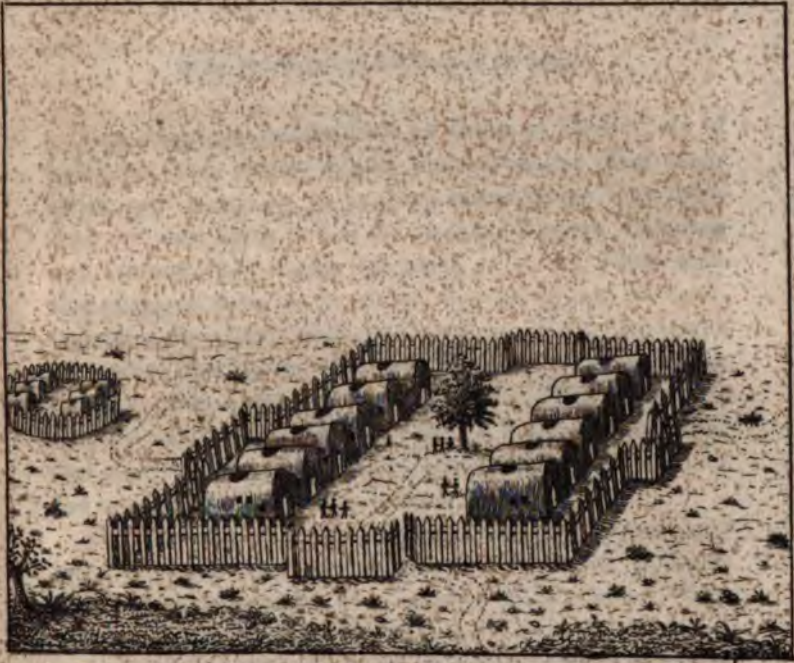
Of the Food and Cookery of the Indians.

THE earth, the woods, and the rivers are the provision stores of the Indians; for they eat all kinds of wild animals and productions of the earth; fowls, birds, fishes, and fruits, which they find within their reach. They shoot deer, fowls, and birds, with the bow and arrows: they take the fish in the same manner: when the waters are high, the fish run up the creeks and return at ebb tide; so that the Indians can easily shoot them at low water, and drag them ashore.

They eat as often as they are hungry; but, generally, twice a-day, morning and afternoon; the earth serves them for tables and chairs. They sometimes broil their meat and their fish; at other times, they dry them in the sun or in the smoke, and thus eat them. They make bread out of the maize or Indian corn, which they prepare in a manner peculiar to themselves; they crush the grain between two stones, or on a large piece of wood; they moisten it with water, and make it into small cakes, which they wrap up in corn leaves, and thus bake them in the ashes. In this manner, they grind and bake their bread; the Swedes made use of it when they first came into the country. They can fast for many days, when necessity compels them; when they are travelling or lying in wait for their enemies, they take with them a kind of bread, made of Indian corn and tobacco juice, which is very good to allay hunger and quench thirst, in case they have nothing else at hand.

When the Swedes first arrived, the Indians were in the habit of eating human flesh, and they generally eat that of their enemies after broiling it, which can be easily proved. "My father related to me that some Indians once invited a Swede to go with them to their habitation in the woods; when they arrived, they treated him with the best the house afforded, and pressed him to eat, which he did. Their entertainment was sumptuous: there was broiled, and boiled, and even hashed meat, of all which the Swede ate with them; but it seems it did not agree with his stomach; for he threw it up immediately afterwards. The Indians, however, did not let him know what he had been eating; but it was told him afterwards by some other Indians, who let him know that he had fed on the flesh of an Indian of a neighbouring tribe, with whom they were at war; and that was the broiled, boiled, and hashed meat, with which he had been treated.

Their drink, before the Christians came into this country, was nothing else but good fresh water; but now, they are very fond of strong liquors. Both the men and women smoke tobacco, which grows in their country in great abundance.



INDIAN FORT.



CHAPTER V.

Of the Dwellings and Furniture of the Indians.

THE American Indians have no towns or fixed places of habitation; they mostly wander about from one place to another; and generally, go to those places where they think they are most likely to find the means of support. In spring and summer, they choose the banks of rivers, where they find plenty of fish; but in winter, they go up into the country, where they find abundance of venison. When they travel, they carry their meats with them wherever they go, and fix them on poles, under which they dwell. When they want fire, they strike it out of a piece of dry wood, of which they find plenty; and in that manner, they are never at a loss for fire to warm themselves, or to cook their meat.

They have no other dwellings than huts put up with their mats, as above mentioned, or made of branches of trees, which they put together in a round or square form. They proceed in this manner; they fix a pole in the ground, and spread their mats around it, which are made of the leaves of the Indian corn matted together; then they cover it above with a kind of roof made of bark, leaving a hole at the top for the smoke to pass through: they fix hooks in the pole on which they hang their kettles; underneath they put a large stone to guard themselves from the fire, and around it they spread their mats and skins on which they sleep. For beds, tables, and chairs, they use nothing else; the earth serves

them for all these purposes. They have several doors to their houses; generally one on the north, and one on the south side. When it blows hard, they stop up one of them with bark, and hang a mat or a skin before the other. Sometimes they fasten their doors to guard themselves against the sudden attacks of their enemies, and they surround their houses with round or square pallisades, made of logs or planks, which they fasten in the ground, as in the annexed drawing.*

Their principal articles of furniture are a kettle, in which they boil their meat and some dishes or plates of bark and cedar wood, out of which they eat; for drinking, they use, commonly, the shell of the calabash, which we have above described, Book II., Chapter II.

Of the houses and furniture of these Indians, and of their domestic comforts, Mr. Pastorius speaks in these words: "Their huts are made of young trees, the branches of which are twisted together and fastened with bark. They use neither table nor chairs, nor any other kind of household furniture, except only a kettle, or vessel, in which they cook their meat. I have," continues he, "once seen four Indians eating together with great delight; their repast consisted of a pompion, boiled in water without any meat, or fat, or any kind of seasoning; their table and seats were the naked earth, their spoons were muscle shells, out of which they supped the warm water, and their plates were large leaves of trees that stood near them. I thought to myself, these men never heard of Christ's doctrine of moderation and content, and yet they far exceed us Christians in the exercise of those virtues. When a Christian goes to visit them in their dwellings, they immediately spread on the ground pieces of cloth, and fine mats or skins; then they produce the best

* See the plate representing an Indian fort.

they have, as bread, deer, elk, or bears' meat, fresh fish and bears' fat, to serve in lieu of butter, which generally are raw and which they broil upon the coals. These attentions must not be despised, but must be received with thankfulness, otherwise, their friendship will turn to hatred. When an Indian visits his good friend, a Christian, he must always uncover his table at the lower end, for the Indian will have his liberty, and he will immediately jump upon the table, and sit on it with his legs crossed, for they are not accustomed to sit upon chairs; he then asks for any thing that he sees, and that he would like to eat of."

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Marriages of the Indians, and the Education of their Children.

As soon as the Indians are 17 or 18 years of age, they take wives to themselves, one, two, or three, as they can afford to maintain them. The woman must be constantly in attendance upon her husband, and follow him wherever he goes; and if she should be guilty of infidelity, or otherwise misbehave, he will turn her out with blows, and immediately take another wife in her place.

When a warrior or sachem marries, his wife must wear her bridal clothes for a year, completely covered with strings of wampum, in various figures, with which her hair, her ears, her arms, and her waist even down to her knees, are decorated; her hair must be greased, and her face painted with all sorts of colours, which gives her a shocking appearance, and at the same time, the husband's person is similarly adorned.

When the wives of these barbarians are pregnant, they have no intercourse with their husbands; they do not even touch with their hands the meat that they eat, but with a stick or a string; their delivery is not attended with much difficulty; when the time is at hand, they go into the woods to some convenient bush or tree, where they lie down for a short time and are delivered without much pain. Immediately afterwards they go into the water, and wash themselves and their infant, and the day following they are as fresh and as well as before. They wrap up the child in some old rags or

skins, lay it on a board somewhat larger or longer than its body, to which they fasten it, and they put a deer-skin over it, and when they take up the child to give it suck, they take board and all, so that it always remains fastened, and thus they carry it upon their backs.

While the children are sucking, their bodies are white, but afterwards they smear them over with bears' grease, and a kind of black substance which they find on the sea shore, and let it dry in the sun, in consequence of which the bodies do not become quite black, but of a brown or yellowish colour. They take much care of their children, and suckle them until they are three or four years old, feeding them at the same time with some meat, and the milk of wild animals; in consequence of which they thrive exceedingly, and are always fresh, lively, and well-shaped, so that there is seldom seen among them a cripple, or humpback, or otherwise deformed person. They generally teach their children to walk when they are nine months old; they have nothing on them till they are pretty well grown, then they give them a name taken from any thing which they think best suited to the individual.

While they are boys, they employ themselves in fishing, and when a little older they go into the woods, and exercise themselves in shooting and hunting; and when they have, by some exploit, given proofs of their manliness, they look out for a wife; otherwise they consider it would be shameful for them to attempt to get married. The girls remain with their mothers, and assist them in the care of the household, such as making mats, and carrying small bundles. When they want to get married, which generally happens when they are thirteen or fourteen years of age, they are accustomed to cover their breasts, and wear something upon their heads, by which it is understood that they are ready for a husband.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Exercises and Occupations of the Indians.

THE exercises of the Indians and their usual employments are fishing, hunting, and shooting with bow and arrow, in which they possess great skill, being used to it from their infancy: they can shoot a bird flying, and a deer running at full speed. On the subject of their hunting, the engineer, P. Lindström, in his manuscript treatise, writes as follows: "As soon as the winter is over, they commence their hunting expeditions, which they do in the most ingenious manner. They choose the time when the grass is high, and dry as hay, the sachem collects his people together, and places them in a circumference of one or two miles, according to their numbers; then they root out all the grass around that circumference to the breadth of about four yards, so that the fire cannot run back upon them: when that is done they set the grass on fire, which, of course, extends all round till it reaches the centre of the circumference. Then they set up great outcries, and the wild animals fly towards the centre, and when they are collected within a small circle, the Indians shoot at them with guns and bows, and kill as many as they please, by which means they get plenty of venison. When the grass has ceased to grow, they go out into the woods, and shoot the animals which they find there, in which they have not much trouble, for their sense of smelling is so acute that they can scent them like hounds. At their meetings

they are accustomed to exercise themselves with shooting. Their sachem causes a turkey to be hung high up in the air, of which the bowels being taken out, and the belly filled with money; he who shoots the bird down, gets the money that is within it.

Although the Indians, when the Swedes first came into the country, had no instrument or tools made of iron, or any other metal, nevertheless, they could perform every kind of work with their hands with such dexterity and neatness, that the Christians were struck with astonishment. They make their bows with the limb of a tree, of above a man's length, and their bow-strings out of the sinews of animals; they make their arrows out of a reed a yard and a half long, and at one end, they fix in a piece of hard wood of about a quarter's length; at the end of which they make a hole to fix in the head of the arrow, which is made of black flint stone, or of hard bone or horn, or the teeth of large fishes or animals, which they fasten in with fish glue in such a manner, that the water cannot penetrate: at the other end of the arrow, they put feathers. They can also tan and prepare the skins of animals, which they paint afterwards in their own way. They make much use of painted feathers, with which they adorn skins and bed covers, binding them with a kind of net work, which is very handsome, and fastens the feathers very well; with these they make light and warm clothing and covering for themselves; with the leaves of Indian corn and reeds, they make purses, mats, and baskets, and every thing else that they want. I can show a little purse of Indian corn leaves, and two large ones which my grandfather brought with him from that country. They make very handsome and strong mats of fine roots, which they paint with all kinds of figures, they hang their walls with those mats and make excellent bed clothes out of them.

The women spin thread and yarn out of nettles, hemp, and some plants unknown to us. Governor Printz had a complete suit of clothes, with coat, breeches, and belt, made by those barbarians, with their wampum, which was curiously wrought with the figures of all kinds of animals, and cost some thousand pieces of gold, as the engineer, P. Lindström, relates.

They make tobacco pipes out of reeds about a man's length; the bowl is made of horn, and to contain a great quantity of tobacco; they generally present these pipes to their good friends when they come to visit them at their houses, and wish them to stay some time longer; then the friends cannot go away without having first smoked out of the pipe. They make them, otherwise, of red, yellow, and blue clay, of which there is a great quantity in the country; also, of white, gray, green, brown, black, and blue stones, which are so soft that they can be cut with a knife; of these they make their pipes a yard and a half long, or longer.

Their boats are made of the bark of cedar and birch trees, bound together and lashed very strongly; they carry them along wherever they go; and when they come to some creek that they want to get over, they launch them and go whither they please. They also used to make boats out of cedar trees, which they burnt inside and scraped off the coals with sharp stones, bones, or muscle shells.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Trade and Money of the Indians.

THESE barbarians trade with the Christians, but chiefly, by way of barter, giving one merchandise for another. The principal things they have to sell are all kinds of wild animals, fowls, birds, fish, and fruits, all things which abound with them and serve for nourishment. In return for these, they get cloth, kettles, axes, knives, small mirrors, and old woollen and linen clothes; they also get some articles of food, bread, and other preparations of Indian corn. While my father and grandfather lived among them, some Swedish women had undertaken to make small caps out of all kinds of old clothes, at the top of which they fixed a tassel of various colours, which they made of differently coloured rags, which they unravelled and mixed together. Those caps pleased the Indians extremely, and they gave good prices for them in their money. The money of the Indians, which they employ in their trade is neither made of gold, silver, nor any other metal; they consider those as of no value: their money consists of beads, neatly cut out of brown or white cockle, muscle or oyster shells, through which they bore a hole and string them together on a thread like pearls; these they call *Zeband*.* In trade they measure those strings by their length; each fathom of them is worth five Dutch guilders, reckoning four beads for every stiver. The brown beads are more valued than the others and fetch a higher price: a white bead is of the value of a piece of copper money; but

* We call it *wampum*.

a brown one is worth a piece of silver. They string them together, and thus keep them.

On the subject of the money of the Indians, the engineer, P. Lindström, writes as follows: "Their money is made of shells, white, black, and red, worked into beads, and neatly turned and smoothed; one person, however, cannot make more in a day than the value of six or eight stivers. When those beads are worn out, so that they cannot be strung neatly, and even on the thread, they no longer consider them as good. Their way of trying them is to rub the whole thread full on their noses; if they find it slides smooth and even, like glass beads, then they are considered good, otherwise, they break and throw them away. Their manner of measuring their strings is by the length of their thumbs; from the end of the nail to the first joint makes six beads, of which the white ones are worth a stiver, or piece of silver money, but the black or blue ones are worth two stivers or a piece of silver."

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Government and Laws of the Indians.

THE Indians have a chief or king over them, whom they call *Sachem*.* The office is hereditary, but on the mother's side, in order that no illegitimate children be placed at the head of the nation. When the king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children, for no female can succeed to the government. The king has his council of about two hundred men, who are the oldest and the most respectable of his people. Nothing of importance, such as war, peace, the sale of land, or the like, is undertaken, without having been first discussed in council, to which are not only called the counsellors, but the common people. The council is held in the following order; the king sits in the middle, and the counsellors sit around him on one side, like a half moon, and the common people on the other side, in the same order; the king begins by stating to the meeting the object for which it is called; he then asks the council for their opinions, designating him who is to speak first, and the others in succession. While the counsellor speaks every one is silent, and when he has finished, he says so, in order that he may meet with no interruption when he is speaking. When the opinions have thus been taken, the king makes his decision known, which all confirm by their approbation;

* In the Delaware language, *Sakima*.

the matter is then considered as finally settled, and the decree is to be carried into execution. My grandfather, in his Indian dialogues gives the particulars of such a council, which was held among the Indians respecting the Swedes, and which will be inserted at the end of this treatise. When they sell some lands to the Christians, and have received payment for it, the king divides the money or goods among the people, reserving for himself the smallest share.

Almost all the Indian nations in this northern part of America make use of a token of peace and friendship, with which they confirm all that their councils have determined upon, whether it be war, peace, or any other important business. What they call the *calumet** is a tobacco pipe of red, white, or black colour; the bowl of which is of a fine red, well polished stone. This pipe is made of a pretty strong reed, three feet and a half long, and adorned with feathers of various colours, and with women's hair woven in various manners. To this pipe are fixed two wings, much like those which are described in the Caduceus of Mercury. When they have made any contract or treaty, either with the Christians or other Indians, they give them the calumet to smoke, which finally seals the agreement, as they believe: if any one should afterwards break it, he would be visited by some great misfortune.

If any one wish to travel through America, he ought to provide himself with such a calumet; for the moment he shows it, the Indians understand that he comes to them as a friend; and if they then show their own, he may be sure that he can come forward and talk with them: if they then

* This word is not of Indian derivation; it was introduced by the French among the savages. *Calumet*, *Chalumel*, *Chalumeau*, means a rustic or shepherd's pipe, or flageolet, which in shape resembles a tobacco pipe, the bowl excepted. These words are derived from the Latin *calamus*.

give him their calumet to smoke, he must make them smoke out of his, and then friendship is firmly established between them. This, with many more particulars, is related by Lewis Hennepin, in his Description of America.

When the barbarians choose a king, they do not care so much as to who is the nearest in the order of succession, as who is the best and fittest man to be put at the head of the government. This is exemplified by what Pastorius relates in his history of Pennsylvania. Once King *Calkanicha* visited our Governor, William Penn, and showed great inclination towards the Christian religion: he was unexpectedly taken sick, and, therefore, determined to remain among us. As his sickness increased, he caused his nephew, his brother's son, *Jahkiosol*, to be called to him, and in the presence of several persons, as well of his own nation as of ours, he declared him to be king in his stead, and addressed him in these words: "My brother's son! I this day pour my heart into your breast; you must love good people, and keep good company, and keep yourself away from those that are wicked. And when any matter is deliberated upon in council, you must not speak first, but you must let every body speak before you, and pay great attention to what they say, and when you shall have heard every thing, then you must determine on what is right and just, as I have done myself on all occasions. It was my wish to have made *Schoppie* king in my place, but my physician informed me that he had ordered him not to cure my sickness and make me well again, and when he was with me at Hollingshead's house, I saw that he was more inclined to drunkenness than to hearing my last words, and, therefore, I have revoked my determination, and he shall not be king after me; but I have chosen you, my dear brother's son, to be king in his place. I desire that you will deal justly and honestly, as I have done, as well with the Christians as with

the Indians. I am now too weak to say any more." Shortly after that he died, as is related by Pastorius, p. 43.

The punishments that they make use of, consist principally of fines; if a man commit murder, he may be forgiven on giving a feast, or something else of the same kind; but if a woman be killed, the penalty is doubled; because a woman can bring forth children, and a man cannot. Murder is very uncommon among them, unless they get drunk; and in that case, they excuse themselves by saying, it was the liquor that did it. When one of them is condemned to die, which seldom happens, the king himself goes out after him, as they have no prison to confine the criminals, and he generally flies into the woods: when they have found him, the king first shoots at him, and afterwards, those who accompany him shoot in like manner until he is dead. If an Indian kill another Indian of a different tribe, those of the tribe to which the murdered man belonged send one of their men to kill one of the other tribe, and thus war is kindled between them. Otherwise, there is no law among them, and they generally exercise the law of retaliation.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Warfare and Weapons of the Indians, and of their Cruelty to their Enemies.

THE Indians are often at war with the surrounding tribes, particularly the Mingoës; but they dare not engage with the Christians, since they have discovered that they are superior to them in the military art, which they did when they first arrived into that country: they were then mightily afraid of our weapons, such as guns, muskets, swords, &c.; so much so, that when they first heard a report of a fire arm, they would not remain while the firing continued. Therefore, they lived in friendship with the Christians, particularly with the Swedes. But at first, they had some skirmishing with the English; as Samuel Purchas relates, in his 10th Book, Chapter 6th. When they go to war, each provides himself with a bow, and a sufficient quantity of arrows, which they carry on their backs in a quiver made of rushes, platted together. Formerly, these were their principal weapons; but now, they have learned to fire muskets, which they purchase of the Christians. They wear on their heads a red turkey's feather, as a sign that they are going to shed blood; and on one of their arms they have a shield made of bark, or the skin of an elk. After they have carried their wives and children to an island, or other place of safety, they proceed on their way in a certain order; and when they meet their enemies, they attack them with great outcries; they think they have had a great battle, when ten or

twelve men remain dead on the field. Those who gain the victory take off the scalps of the enemies they have killed, and carry them away as a warlike trophy. Those who have returned from the battle, or have done some great action, dig a large pit in the earth, as a monument for travellers to look on, that they may know of their great deeds; when the hole falls in, they dig it again, as is related by Captain Richard Waitbom, in his description of the country.

When they have obtained a great victory, or are delivered from some misfortune, they make a great fire in token of rejoicing, round which the men and women dance with singing and clapping of hands: they believe that the evil spirit gets into the fire and dances in the flames before them.

They are very cruel in the treatment of their prisoners: they cut and slash them alive, cutting off their ears, their noses, their tongues, and their lips, and also their fingers and toes: they also cut off pieces of flesh from different parts of their bodies, and then they strew ashes over the wounds in order to prevent the blood from flowing, and that their victims may not die too soon. Such an example occurred in the year 1646, while my father and grandfather were in that country. The Indians had taken one of the Mingoës and bound him to a tree; then they made a large fire around him, and when he was as well as half roasted, they let him loose, giving him a firebrand in each hand, and taking one in each hand themselves, then challenging him to fight; and when at last, he could no longer stand and fell down; one of them sprung upon him, and with his nails, cut the skin of his forehead open, and tore off his scalp, which they carried with them as a trophy of war.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Religion of the Indians, and the Difficulties in the way of converting them to Christianity.

ALTHOUGH the Indians, being deprived of the light of Revelation, are unacquainted with the true worship of God, they, nevertheless, acknowledge a Supreme Being, a Great Spirit, who made the heavens and the earth. They say of him in their language, as has been related to me: *Opom Sacchewan mah matil, mah nijr noton, mahorite mah nijr pentor*; which means "The great Sachem in heaven is not bad; he does us neither good nor harm, and, therefore, we cannot worship him." Of the evil spirit, they say: *Manetto matitte renappe pentore Sacchewan, manitto apitse perenape, ankarop*; that is to say: "The evil spirit above is bad; if we don't do something to please him, he will hurt or kill us, therefore, we must worship him." They do not, therefore, worship God, who, they think, does them neither good, nor harm; but they worship the evil spirit, of whom they are afraid, and offer him sacrifices in certain places in the woods, in order that he should do them no harm. When it thunders and lightens, they are very much afraid; they hide themselves in the woods until the storm is over; for then, they say, the Good Spirit is angry.

The engineer, P. Lindström, relates, that they appear to have some notion of Christ and the Apostles, as they tell remarkable stories, which they say they have received by tradition from their ancestors, and which they thus relate: "Once upon a time, (they say) one of your women came among us, and she became pregnant, in consequence of drinking out of a creek; an Indian had connexion with her, and he also become pregnant, and brought forth a son; who,

when he came to a certain size, was so sensible and clever, that there never was one that could be compared to him, so much, and so well he spoke, which excited great wonder; he also performed many miracles. When he was quite grown up, he left us, and went up into heaven, and promised to come again; but has never returned. Afterwards there came a big mouth, (meaning an eloquent man) with a large beard, like your big mouths (preachers.) There was also another big mouth among us, in former times; but he also went off, (pointing to heaven:) he promised to come back, but never returned."

Their worship consists of sacrifices and dances. The former are performed in this manner: They erect an altar on the ground, and offer upon it, meat, fish, tobacco and all sorts of fruits; this they do whenever they return from a war, or are preparing to go out to fight, otherwise, they think that they will be unsuccessful. In performing their sacrifices, they utter lamentable cries with strange contortions of their bodies.

They perform their dances in a circle, with songs and joyful cries; two of them stand in the middle, singing and running to and fro, holding in their hands a hollow reed, or dried skin, which is curious to look at; they keep time extremely well.

Father Lewis Hennepin, has mentioned the obstacles that are in the way of the conversion of the Indians to the Christian faith. He spoke from his own experience, and states those obstacles as follows:—

1st. "The Indians themselves acknowledge, that they are very much attached to their ancient superstitions, and unwilling to believe what they cannot understand; so that, when one speaks to them of resurrection, and tells them that after death, if they will believe in Christ and suffer themselves to be baptized, they will go to heaven, which is a much finer

country than their own, they will immediately answer by asking, whether in that country there is plenty of game, and plenty of fish; and if you tell them, that when there, they will neither want to eat nor drink, but that they will enjoy the bliss of seeing God face to face; they will answer by saying, that we must be great liars, for how can a man live without meat or drink? To this must be added their unsettled mode of life, always wandering from one place to another, so that, after their children have learned something, they forget it immediately, when they go with their parents into the woods.

2dly. "Another impediment to the conversion of the Indians, is that so many of us act differently from what they profess, by trying to cheat them out of their goods; so that they will not believe but that it is meant to deceive them, for otherwise, they say, our people would live consistently with their doctrines.

3dly. "It has unfortunately happened that some of the missionaries and teachers that we have sent to them, particularly those that went first into the country, found great difficulty in learning their language, which is rich and complicated, so that they could not carry on a proper intercourse with them; some of them by their conduct destroyed the good effects of their lessons, by endeavouring to turn every thing to their profit, so that one of the Indian chiefs once spoke of them in this manner: "As long as we have beaver and other skins, the missionaries stay with us and show us great friendship; they teach our children their catechism, and how to say their prayers; they constantly stay with us, and even do us the honour to partake of our feasts; but as soon as we have no more skins, then those gentlemen begin to think that their presence is no longer necessary." This and much more of the same kind may be read in the above cited work of Father Lewis Hennepin.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Funerals of the Indians.

As the Indians are not in the habit of committing excesses in eating and drinking, but live upon good fresh food, and eat all kinds of wholesome fruits, and drink nothing but pure water, they enjoy excellent health, and are seldom sick: when that happens, and when they are taken sick, either inwardly or outwardly, they are so well acquainted with herbs and plants, that they immediately find a remedy for their complaints. Therefore, they generally reach a very advanced age, so that many of them live more than a hundred years. Their medicines seem very trifling, yet their effects are astonishing, and unless a man be truly incurable, they know immediately how to prescribe for him; but the remedies they employ they carefully keep secret from the Christians. They have a cure for the bite of the large poisonous snakes, with which their country abounds, which is truly wonderful; it is a kind of root, which they call *snake root*; they chew it and mix it with their spittle when fasting, and lay it upon the wound; it almost immediately reduces the swelling, and it soon effects a complete cure.

After they are dead, they are carried by the principal men among those that they leave behind, to a certain place; their relations and friends bring precious and valuable articles to their grave, as tokens of the affection which they bore to the deceased; and in order that he may be provided with every thing that he may want when he comes to that beautiful country, which they believe lies far to the west, where people go after their death; a country, they say, abounding with game and fish, and with every thing that may be wished for.

They make their graves quite round, and line them with logs, and, for their great men, with planks or boards. Then they lay the corpse in it, in a sitting posture, and place by him his shield and other weapons; they tie his hands together, one on each side of his head; they lay planks or boards underneath to support it; then they fill the grave with earth, and put planks or logs upon it to keep it from the wild animals; they fix in the middle of it a long painted pole in remembrance of the deceased, on the top of which, if he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish. Afterwards the relations and friends go once a day to the grave during three months, and there sit round it to mourn for the deceased, with cries and lamentations, asking him why he left them so soon, and why he would not stay longer among them; whether he had not good meat and good drink, and every thing else that he could wish? Their sorrow is expressed in this manner, and they blacken their faces during a whole year. They are very attentive to the preservation of the graves, that they may not fall in or be overgrown with grass or bushes, lest the memory of the dead should be forgotten.

Thus, we have laid before our readers a short description of those American Indians, and the manner in which they live after their heathenish way. It becomes us, Christians, to be thankful to Almighty God, that we are not like them involved in darkness, but have received the light of the blessed gospel. We are also, bound to pray to the same Almighty Being, that he may open the eyes of these benighted people, and lead them into the way of his salvation, that he has prepared for all nations, and that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the Lord's grace and mercy. And so may God's holy name be praised and magnified now and for ever.

BOOK IV.

VOCABULARY AND PHRASES IN THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE
OF NEW SWEDEN, OTHERWISE CALLED PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER I.

OF GOD, HEAVEN, AND THE SEASONS.

- Manetto*, God, Spirit, Angel.
Manetto Nōk, God the Father.
Manetto Nissianus, God the Son.
Chintika Manetto, God the Holy Ghost.
Pæntor chijr, jãni Manetto, Natia nacha Manetto, Suek cuitte Manetto, hatte taani chichæ. These exist together, and are the same God; there are not three Gods, but only one God in existence.
Mochæarick, Mochijrick hãrit, ock Vinckan Manetto, The very great, good, and merciful God.
Quinætzî suhwijean manotuttut maranjto, He is so wise, and so intelligent, that he can do every thing that he pleases.
- Hãritt Manetto*, Good angel.
Mamunckus Manetto, Bad angel.
Hocque Hocquæssung, Heaven, sky.
Mochijrick Hockung, The great dwelling-place; the heavenly mansion.
Hocquæssung oromat hatte, Heaven is very far from us.
Hocquæssung mochæarick hãritt, ock mochæarick Saminackot, Heaven is very fine and delightful.
Hockockque, The clouds, the sky.
- Hockockquæ vopeck*, White cloud.
Hockockque neskeg, Black cloud.
Chissogh, Sun.
Nippe Chissogh, Moon.
Arunck, Stars.
Kuun, Snow.
Kuun pæwo, It snows.
Suckra, Rain.
Suckrat, It rains.
Suckrat mochijrick, It rains hard.
Tanckettitt Suckra, It rains softly: it drizzles a little.
Pajackok, Thunder.
Pajackok pæwo, It begins to thunder.
Schackhan, Wind.
Mochijrick Schackhan, There comes a hard wind.
- Kattææn*, Year.
Chischwieke, oppan, Day.
Boquickan, Night.
Ciutte oppan, One day.
Apitzi Apongo, It will be day presently.
Apongor, To-morrow.
Nissochkenacka, The day after to-morrow.
Orockquæz, Yesterday.
Sittbock, Evening.
Sættbock, Sippahæ, In the evening early.

<i>Oroquiekan</i> , To-morrow evening.	<i>Suckera mochijrick pæwo</i> , Rain is long a coming.
<i>Oroquicke</i> , Noon.	<i>Hurit Tukócko Scháchan</i> , Fine fall weather.
<i>Apítzi pischeeo</i> , It will be dark pre- sently.	<i>Rhoóngor, Sijkóngor</i> , Winter.
<i>Sichkóngor, Sicquangh</i> , The moon.	<i>Thávo Dakotze</i> , Cold.
<i>Matzi Hócuem</i> , It is fine weather, Summer weather.	<i>Dakótze Rhoóngor</i> , A cold winter.
<i>Hwijnaminch</i> , Summer.	<i>Mátta'dakótze</i> , It is not very cold.
<i>Nippenæ</i> , Midsummer.	<i>Nijr dakótze</i> , I freeze.
<i>Uránda</i> , Heat.	<i>Tænda</i> , Fire.
<i>Nijr úranda hatte</i> , I am warm.	<i>J-ni tænda mochijrick uranda pætton</i> , This fire gives much heat.
<i>Tukócko, Takockque</i> , Autumn.	<i>Ciutte chischwiekan</i> , Day and night.
<i>Knitz Tukócko</i> , Autumn is approach- ing.	<i>Haas Kucknuckhachi</i> , A week.
<i>Knitz Taroxo</i> , It is very dirty, (mud- dy.)	<i>Ciutte chissogh</i> , A month's time.
	<i>Uska Rhomo</i> , Many years ago.

CHAPTER II.

OF MAN, AND THE PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

<i>Renáppi</i> , Man.	<i>Táw</i> , Mouth.
<i>Jás, Muus</i> , Flesh.	<i>Siættan</i> , Lips.
<i>Chieko</i> , The soul.	<i>Wichtán</i> , Beard.
<i>Chiekhiche</i> , Life.	<i>Wippit</i> , Tooth.
<i>Hwijl, Wijr</i> , Head.	<i>Manænnu</i> , Cheek bone.
<i>Mock</i> , Blood.	<i>Momámanar</i> , Eye-brows.
<i>Myrack</i> , Hair.	<i>Hyrano</i> , Tongue.
<i>Hackálu</i> , Forehead.	<i>Hucque</i> , Chin.
<i>Hwitangau</i> , The hinder part of the neck, (<i>Cervix</i> .)	<i>Quckárgan</i> , Neck.
<i>Schinck</i> , Eye.	<i>Kuntackan</i> , Throat.
<i>Nissa Schinck</i> , Both eyes.	<i>Páhu</i> , To cry, holloa.
<i>Wikijuan</i> , Nose.	<i>Nach, Olænskan, Lænskan</i> , hand, finger.*
<i>Hittaock</i> , Ear.	<i>Theromárgan</i> , Arm, the upper part of the arm.
<i>Christáu</i> , To Hear.	<i>Hwisquan</i> , Elbow.
<i>Christáu, nijr apítzi orati muckan</i> , Hear! I am now going to make a right talk to you.	<i>Onáck</i> , the lower part of the arm, from the elbow to the hand.

* *Nach* or *Nack*, means hand. *Lænskan*, finger. *Olænskan*, or *Wlænskan*, your
finger.—TRANSL.

<i>Wichan.</i> The lap.	<i>Hyotteti. Nattlessung.</i> Belly.
<i>Hopóckan.</i> Back.	<i>Room.</i> Thigh.
<i>Hutucki.</i> Arm pit.	<i>Kuttogh.</i> Knee.
<i>Thorhai.</i> Breast.	<i>Hickquóckan.</i> Leg.
<i>Chitto, Kitta.</i> Heart.	<i>Hoquijran.</i> Large bone.
<i>Tritæ.</i> To think.	<i>Sisæzi.</i> Sinews, nerves.
<i>Kotz chijr mochjrick Krinkomen</i>	<i>Hoppæzock.</i> Veins.
<i>tritæ?</i> Why are you in such deep	<i>Ziit.</i> Foot.
thoughts?	<i>Hicchas.</i> Nail.
<i>Jonáckan.</i> Breast, milk.	

CHAPTER III.

OF MEN AND WOMEN.

<i>Rhènus.</i> Man.	<i>Horitt Saccheeman.</i> A good and desirable chief.
<i>Aguæo.</i> Woman.	<i>Saccheeman matta nisketij.</i> A liberal, generous chief.
<i>Nitærous.</i> Wife.	<i>Quinzéttsi nitáto.</i> One who is skilful at doing something.
<i>Hirússus.</i> Old man.	<i>Hohætáa, Hæa.</i> Alone.
<i>Háuisis, Hausisse.</i> Old woman.	<i>Chalebackschæzelli.</i> A poor man, a beggar, a servant man or girl.
<i>Nak.</i> Father.	<i>Puróque.</i> A strumpet.
<i>Anna, Kahæss.</i> Mother.	<i>Chicke.</i> He is alive.
<i>Mæmyndet.</i> Child.	<i>Minamæro.</i> Sick.
<i>Nissianus</i> Son, daughter.	<i>Ankaróp.</i> Dead.
<i>Pinættæ.</i> Boy.	<i>Hacking taato.</i> Buried.
<i>Oquættæ.</i> Girl.	<i>Matta nijr minamæro.</i> I am not sick.
<i>Nijlon.</i> Maid, virgin.	<i>Nijr minamæro.</i> I am sick.
<i>Hissimus, Nijlum.</i> Brother, sister.	<i>Nijr nickhické.</i> I am in good health.
<i>Ránkasis.</i> Kindred, relation.	<i>Quirutte.</i> To quarrel.
<i>Dangus.</i> Brother-in-law, sister-in-law.	<i>Ajütte.</i> To make war.
<i>Akoores.</i> Swede.	<i>Ajutte mattáque.</i> A duel.
<i>Senaæres.</i> English, German, Dutch.	<i>Speecie Renappi.</i> Retaliation.
<i>Akoores nitáato ajuttamen.</i> The Swedes are good and skilful warriors.	<i>Matapping.</i> Sit down and stay.
<i>Sacchéman.</i> Chief, commander.	<i>Táppin.</i> Sit down.
<i>Sacchéman chintika.</i> Religious man, priest.	<i>Pack.</i> To weep.
<i>Mochjrick Saccheeman Chintika.</i> Bishop.	<i>Krickæ.</i> To laugh.
<i>Máchjrick Sacchéman.</i> A worldly or civil chief or magistrate.	<i>Seværenda.</i> Grieved, afflicted.
<i>Mochærick mochjrick Saccheeman.</i> Governor.	<i>Mochjrick Seværenda hatte.</i> To be much troubled.
<i>Siringue Saccheeman.</i> Severe chief.	<i>Pockquijra.</i> Weary, tired.
<i>Fincka Saccheeman.</i> Merciful chief.	<i>Nijr pockquijra.</i> I am so tired.

CHAPTER IV.

OF CLOTHING.

- Wope, Quijvan.* Linen, such as sheets, shirts, &c.
Sakock quijvan. Petticoat.
Quijvan táquin. Clothes, such as the Indians wear.
Hezes. Skin.
Hezen tackvin. Skins, such as the Indians wear.
Kackun. Stockings.
Sippack. Shoes.
Nattas, Nattassung. Bag, purse.
Mochjrick Nattassung. A sack.

CHAPTER V.

OF A HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE.

- Wickamen.* House.
Wicking. Dwelling.
Hockung. The high building—Heaven.
Räckans. A bowl, a dish.
Nephoones. Spoon.
Paxickan. Knife.
Tamahickan. An axe.
Huperénna. To hack, hew.
Mussáppi. Beads of coral, glass, &c.
Etzkans. Needle.
Parakickan. A gun.
Aruns. Arrow, shot.
Maháres. A skin, to cover the point of an arrow.
Apisackan. Bow-string.
Quijvan. Cloth.
Woope Quijvan. White cloth, linen, shirt.
Mæckhhchæck. Red.
Mæckhhchæck Oquijvan. Red clothes, or clothing.
Cavins. To lie down.
Catunga. To sleep.
Sijs. More.
Matta chjr sijs cattunga. Sleep a little more.
Hockung pæwo. Stand up, get up.
Hockung pæwo sixi. Get up quickly.
Hacking taan. Get you down.
Darrasymi, Rattaimo. To dream.
Mamantickan. Play, game.
Malæckhickan. Book.
Amaræckhickan, mamaræckhickan. Letter, book, paper.
Gōs. Nail.
Hopickan. A gun.
Punch. Gunpowder.

<i>Hacki.</i> Dusk.	<i>Sinnus.</i> Kettle.
<i>Tenda.</i> Fire.	<i>Wickhanim.</i> To cook, boil.
<i>Mochijrick tända.</i> Great fire.	<i>Suckhöchan.</i> Glue.
<i>Sanckhickan.</i> Fire place.	<i>Chirakha.</i> Riband or tape, or string to bind or tie with.
<i>Hopockan.</i> Tobacco pipe.	<i>Tuckcheene.</i> Open the door.
<i>Huritt Sisko Hopockan.</i> A good pipe of clay.	<i>Tanckettitt Skijk.</i> Mow the grass or hay.
<i>Huritt Asszen Hopockan.</i> A good stone pipe, such as the Indians use.	<i>Maranijto tackhan.</i> Hew the wood.
<i>Mahales.</i> A flint.	<i>Pæzel tackhan.</i> Bring some wood.
<i>Kiakhickan.</i> Broad axe.	<i>Maranijto tända.</i> Make a fire.

CHAPTER VI.

OF WATER.

<i>Bij.</i> Water.	a dead calm at sea.
<i>Mochijrick Bij.</i> The high sea, great water.	<i>Wissacka.</i> Bitter, strong.
<i>Tanckettitt Bij.</i> A small river or lake.	<i>Wissacka Bissim.</i> Strong liquor, drink.
<i>Sileméssung.</i> The sea-shore.	<i>Mochæzrick Wissacka Bissun.</i> Brandy.
<i>Sippussing.</i> A creek or river.	<i>Nijr mâtzi Arna mochijrick Bij.</i> I will go to the sea-shore.
<i>Tsmäckhan.</i> Ebb tide.	<i>Sisko.</i> Clay or earth.
<i>Fickan.</i> Flood tide.	<i>Mäckæck Sisko.</i> Red clay.
<i>Sackhang.</i> A storm.	<i>Wopæck Sisko.</i> White clay.
<i>Mochijrick Sackhang Bij hätte.</i> There are great storms at sea.	<i>Neakæck Sisko.</i> Blue clay.
<i>Mätta Sackhang Bij hätte.</i> There is	

CHAPTER VII.

OF VARIOUS KINDS OF ANIMALS.

<i>Tumæque.</i> Beaver skin.	<i>Sijnamis.</i> Rabbit.
<i>Tjymms.</i> Wolf.	<i>Nahanam hæææ.</i>
<i>Tjymms Hæææ.</i> Wolf skin.	<i>Hænnekijk.</i> Otter.
<i>Hockus.</i> Fox.	<i>Hwoijningus.</i> Mink.

<i>Haniequai</i> . Squirrel.	<i>Singuættæt</i> , <i>Singwæs</i> , Lynx, wild cat.
<i>Kwskus</i> . Hog.	<i>Singues Hææs</i> , <i>Sinoquættæt Hææs</i> . Lynx's skin.
<i>Hokook</i> . Snake.	<i>Mochjrick Singuættæt Hææs</i> . Cat's skin.
<i>Hoppæck</i> . Worm.	<i>Mackh Hææs</i> . Bear skin.
<i>Damáskus</i> . Musk rat.	<i>Nijr pætton máramon Hartã Hææs</i> . I have deer skins for sale.
<i>Arám</i> . Dog.	<i>Chéko?</i> What?
<i>Kræænamen Arám</i> . Stop the dog.	<i>Chéko taiman?</i> What will you have for them?
<i>Kapton Arám</i> . Bind the dog.	<i>Quijvan áttlicke</i> . I will have cloth,
<i>Hartã</i> . Deer.	<i>Sinhwæs ock vope quijvan</i> . I have a kettle, white linen and shirts.
<i>Pæmyy Hwijs</i> . Fat, tallow.	
<i>Mackh</i> . Bear.	
<i>Manunckus mochjrick Singwæs</i> . The great mischievous wild cat, or lion.	

CHAPTER VIII.

OF FISHES, FOWLS, AND BIRDS.

<i>Lamææs</i> . Fish.	<i>Wooæ</i> . Egg.
<i>Haamo</i> . Herring.	<i>Homijmi</i> , <i>Mijni</i> , <i>Kaak</i> . Pigeon.
<i>Haamæs</i> . Pilchard.	<i>Cahaak</i> . Goose.
<i>Túlpe</i> , <i>Túrpa</i> . Tortoise.	<i>Hwijquinck</i> . Duck.
<i>Mamaare</i> , <i>Dwalt</i> . A fish like salmon, but not so large.	<i>Pomuttamen Hwijquinck</i> . To shoot ducks.
<i>Hwissamick</i> . A fish resembling the lamprey, and almost as large.	<i>Skeenach</i> . Black bird.
<i>Tzáckamææs</i> , Eel, some of these are very large.	<i>Mæræck kaak</i> . Gray goose.
<i>Merætte</i> . Crab.	<i>Wopæck kaak</i> . White goose.
<i>Kakickan</i> . Perch.	<i>Mochjrick Wopæck Siórens kaak</i> . A large white fowl, like a goose or swan.
<i>Mæckæck Skinck</i> . Roach.	<i>Turr</i> . Swan.
<i>Pæskon Skinck</i> . Nine eyes, a kind of eel.	<i>Turæcka</i> . Crane.
<i>Sãrans</i> . Bird, fowl.	<i>Mochjrick mæræck Siórens</i> . A large gray fowl or crane.
<i>Kínthã</i> . To fly.	<i>Ahas</i> . Raven, crow.
<i>Sickenem</i> . Turkey.	<i>Skappe</i> . Moor-hen.

CHAPTER IX.

OF TREES AND FRUITS.

- Hacking*. Wood, a wood.
Oromat hácking nijr taan. I am going far off into the woods.
Shæckung. Rush, and what grows on the sea-shore.
Hættog. Tree.
Sikáttag. Cedar tree.
Chao. Pine tree.
Sijmi Täckhan. Walnut tree.
Täckquiménsi. Black walnut.
Näckin Täckhan. Oak.
Sällöenbras. Sassafras.
Täckhan. Wheat.
Quiskhaamen Täckhan. To cut wheat.
Toppanäckhan. Chips.
Neckeck. Bark.
Häcking. Earth.
Slejk. Grass such as is found in the woods, and grows very nigh.
Aana. Way.
Pámsha. Go slowly, gently.
Schaméra. Run.
Mochæserich shaméra. Run hard.
- Undaque Aani, jöni Aana*. That is the way.
Hæckihäckan. To plant.
Mamantickan. Peach, Plum.
Mamantickan taakan. Peach or plum tree.
Schántach. Pompions.
Shijtamen. Water melon.
Sikáttag mijn. Juniper.
Opijmi. Chestnut.
Sijmi. Walnut.
Mijn Mijne. Cherry.
Skippo. Parsnips.
Jæquem, Jækung. Turkish wheat, (Indian corn.)
Näckin. Acorn.
Höppenæs. Turnips, onions, and the like.
Napan, Nopöring, Sekáta ock siatá. Tobacco.
Hicka oraaton unnær. Keep this, preserve this.
Nijr ræe Kítsi. I speak the truth.

CHAPTER X.

NUMERALS.

<i>Cuttle</i> ,	-	-	-	-	1.	<i>Parreenach</i> ,	-	-	-	-	5.
<i>Nissa</i> ,	-	-	-	-	2.	<i>Ciutas</i> ,	-	-	-	-	6.
<i>Nácha</i> ,	-	-	-	-	3.	<i>Nissas</i> ,	-	-	-	-	7.
<i>Nounoo</i> ,	-	-	-	-	4.	<i>Haas</i> ,	-	-	-	-	8.

<i>Pæschun,</i>	- - - -	9.	<i>Atack Haas,</i>	- - - -	18.
<i>Thæræn,</i>	- - - -	10.	<i>Atack Pæschun,</i>	- - - -	19.
<i>Atack Kiutte,</i>	- - - -	11.	<i>Atack Thæræn,</i>	- - - -	20.
<i>Atack Nissa,</i>	- - - -	12.	<i>Nissinaake,</i>	- - - -	Idem.
<i>Atack Nàcha,</i>	- - - -	13.	<i>Nissinaake Ciutte,</i>	- - - -	21, &c.
<i>Atack Næuwo,</i>	- - - -	14.	<i>Ciutápach,</i>	- - - -	100.
<i>Atack Parenach,</i>	- - - -	15.	<i>Ciutapach Ciutte,</i>	- - - -	101.
<i>Atack Guttas,</i>	- - - -	16.	<i>Ciutapach Nissa,</i>	- - - -	102.
<i>Atack Nissas,</i>	- - - -	17.	<i>Ëc.</i>		

CHAPTER XI.

PIJRI SIMÆCKAN, OR DIALOGUES.

<i>Næc itta.</i> Come here.	<i>Wiching hatte.</i> In my cabin, in my house.
<i>Checkæ taiman?</i> What will you have?	<i>Ëttichemacha Atappi.</i> May be I can have two or three bows.
<i>Tuan Kamæn?</i> Whence come you?	<i>Pomuttamen cijr?</i> Will you shoot?
<i>Utarijo ooromat.</i> A great way from hence.	<i>Moshjuttamen.</i> I have shot.
<i>Keko pættön.</i> What do you bring with you?	<i>Pææt jos.</i> Will you let me have meat.
<i>Jæs Pættön, mochijrick huwijs hatte.</i> I bring meat which is fat enough.	<i>Máramen.</i> I will buy of you.
<i>Kéko taiman?</i> What will you have for it?	<i>Mah.</i> Here it is.
<i>Zææband ætticke.</i> Perhaps money.	<i>Mátta hærítt.</i> It is not good.
<i>Mijrikön.</i> We will barter.	<i>Mátta rítti.</i> It is good for nothing.
<i>Kéko kommijre?</i> What will you give in exchange?	<i>Simáchat.</i> It smells bad.
<i>Aquijvan.</i> Cloth.	<i>Kotz máttá bachítan?</i> Why did not you throw it away?
<i>Pæzickan.</i> A Knife.	<i>Kípatz.</i> Yes, exactly as you say.
<i>Tumhichan.</i> An axe.	<i>Mátta nijr Sinkattan.</i> No, I won't do th at.
<i>Hyperænn.</i> A hatchet.	<i>Kotz máttá miraana?</i> Why don't you give it away?
<i>Massáppi.</i> Beads.	<i>Máramæn.</i> No, I will sell it.
<i>Etzkans.</i> Needles.	<i>Mátta checco maramen.</i> You will find nobody to buy it.
<i>Checkæ rawsense?</i> How do you call that?	<i>Ëttiche?</i> How do you know?
<i>Matta nooto.</i> I don't know.	<i>Narráhwo rankunti.</i> I make you a present of it.
<i>Tucktaan.</i> What are you doing?	<i>Chécko nijr mijre?</i> What shall I give you for it?
Take care.	
<i>Natahwirsi.</i> (I am going) a hunting.	
<i>Tuan Atappi?</i> Where is the bow?	

- Æitiche.* That you may know.
Chææh Skomerijne. I shall give you money for it.
Nænnar, nænnar. Well; very well.
Tuncketitt poon och. A little piece of bread.
Sija chékitti. Some little thing.
Mátta hattéw. I have none.
Tunundin? Where shall I take it?
Pææt. Give here. Give me to eat.
Pææt Bissum. Give me drink.
Kotz? What for? why?
Konna. Because.
Nijr mätzi. I go away.
Tucktaan? Where to?
Romänge. A great way off.
Singæmpaa? When will you return?
Råongor. In the winter.
Sjkhongor. In the spring.
Spóngor. To-morrow.
Nissochkenacka. The day after to-morrow.
Mattpapping. Sit down, and stay.
Mátta nijr tappin. No, I have not time to sit down.
Håppi. Stay.
Mitzi Sappan. Eat first.
Mochij. Willingly.
Chiasbo nijr. I am full now.
Måone. It is done; I can eat no more.
Kræænamen chijr. Do you know me?
Mochij nijr kræænamen chijr. Yes, I know you.
Nijr och chür. And I you.
Renáckot huritt. So, so, that is right.
Nijr rarokulto. I am very hungry.
Pææt poon mitzi. Give me bread to eat.
Mátta nijr pætton. No, I'll not give you any.
Kotz mátta. Why not?
Mátta mockæærik nij hátte. I have not much for myself.
Æitticke chijr nitáppi? Are we no good friends?
Mátta chéko nijr hatté pætton. I have none to give.
Poon ætticke tanchetitt. But I have a little bread.
Pææt. Give it me.
Mochij apitzi. Yes, you shall have it presently.
- Råksi Poon.* Cut the bread.
Keéne, keéne. Thank you, thank you.
Pææt Bissum. Give me drink.
Mátta Bij hátte. There is no water here.
Hia mätzi. That you may do; good by.
Mæætzi, matzi. I am going away immediately.
Nijr æppe. I go with you.
Mætzi næmæn. He is gone away.
Stringoe. I am now angry.
Kotz chijr Stringoe? Wherefore are you angry?
Kónna chir kommota niræna pazickan, manúm charakille. Because you have taken away my knife, you rogue.
Mátta, mátta nijr kommota, suck kónna pápi nijr káiman chijre pazickan, mátta nijr Kattunare. No, I will not take away your knife, unless I should take it in jest; I am no thief.
Pææta, ætticke nijr apitzi bakánta. Give it to me back again, or else you shall get a cut.
Chir siringoe, mátta nijr hwiædsæ. Ah! you are angry. I am not much afraid.
Næe bakánta, chijr och nijr ajuttanen. Come and cut away, and we shall both go to it.
Mátta nijr bakánta, Kónna nijr tahotamen chijr. No, no, I don't want to cut you, because you are dear to me.
Nænnar. Very well, I understand well that it is so.
Næe itta. Come here, you or I.
Æitticke. I don't know that.
Næe, næe. Come, come here.
Checko? What do you want?
Chijr Lamzaka? Was it not you that spoke of fish; you are accustomed to go a fishing?
Mátta naato. I don't know.
Mochij. Yes, it was I.
Chijr Nitáppi, pææt lamzæes rankusnti. You are my good friend, therefore, give me some fish.

Matta hatte rankwnti, chijr maramen.

I have none to give away, buy some for yourself.

Sevaranda, mätta chazek hatte. I would do it willingly if I had money, but I am distressed, I have none.

Kotz matta hatte? Why have you not got any?

Tunánsin? Where should I get it from?

Matta nijr cheks hatte maramen. I have nothing to sell.

Ælticke chijr chalebacks chætti. I think you are a parasite; you have nothing to live on.

Mochij nijr matta chéko hätte. It is true, I have nothing to live on.

Nijr pæxt chijri jáni rankánti. I will give you that for nothing, but you will give me something in return.

Keene itta, nijr pæxt jáni nútka. Thank you; but I give you this and ask nothing for it in return.

Hocquæssung ock Hackingz mochezrick, mochijrick Sacchéman hærít manetto háha mochezrick Krinchámen mochezrick tritzæ, ock monóttut suhwijvan maramijto.

The great God alone, the Lord of heaven and earth, sees every thing, and always acts wisely and well.

CHAPTER XII.

DISCOURSES WHICH TOOK PLACE AT A COUNCIL HELD BY THE INDIANS IN 1645, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SWEDES AND OF NEW SWEDEN, IN WHICH THEIR SACHEM OR KING, FIRST SPEAKS WITH HIS SON, ABOUT CALLING THE NATION TOGETHER.

F. Tuan hätte Achoores? Where are the Swedes, the Dutch?

S. Hopotahácking hatte ock Tienakong. Some of them are at Fort Christina, and some at New Gotenburg.

F. Chéko ræe Achoores? What say the Swedes and the Dutch, now?

S. Ræe; kotz Rendppi maninckus, kotz ræe bakanta Achoores ankarópp; apitzi huritt, apitzi pæwo mochijrik Mocker, ock hatte Suhwijvan huritt taan Achoores Tutæwung. They say: Why are the Indians so angry with us? why do they say that they will kill all of us

Swedes, and root us out of the country? The Swedes are very good, they come in large fast-sailing ships, with all sorts of fine things from the Swedes country, or old Sweden.

F. Sacchéman Mátzi chijr, taan pijri Saccheman ock Renappe, christau, cheks ræe. Go round to the other chiefs, and to the common men, and hear what they say.

S. Ræe; chijr Renappe Nitappi, næe, nijr hatte mochijrick Opuijvan-Sinhus, Punct, Hopickan, ock chécks chijr maramen. They say: you Indians and we—(Swedes, Dutch,

and English)—are in friendship with each other; we are good men, come to us; we have a great deal of cloth, kettles, gunpowder, guns, and all that you may want to buy.

F. Pæntor, chéckw chijr Agga Horn Nissianus rœ? I understand; what do you say about this Agga Horn, my son?

S. Nijr rœ: matta bakanta, ætticke Achwores nitaato ajuttamen. I say, that I think it is best not to fall upon them; because the Swedes are skilful warriors.

F. Nissianus, qui sizi mátsi taan nir-ana Nitappe, Saccheman, ock pijri Renappe, tirue, chijr maranijto simòckan. My son, you must go about, here and there, to our good friends the officers and the common men, and engage them to come immediately here to me, that we may consult together as to what we shall do.

S. Nænnar, nijr matzi. It is well, I will go.

F. Mochij, pæwwo sizi. Do that, but don't be long away.

The Son comes again, and salutes his Father.

S. Rita Nak, Matta Horn. My father, Matta Horn, (that is) good b'ye, father, Matta Horn.

F. Nijr, nijr, nissiaanus Agga Horn. Yes, here I am, my dear son, Agga Horn.

S. Nòk M. nijr hatte maranijto, chéckw chijr tijrue. Father Matta Horn, I have done what you ordered me.

F. Uritt Nissianus, uritt chéckw rœ Sacchéman? Well, my son, well, what answered the officers?

S. Rœ, pæwwo Nissochkenacka.

They answered, that they would come here to us, the day after tomorrow.

F. Chijr Nissianus A. ock Renappi, mosjutamen Harta, ætticke Saccheman rarocutto singa pæwo. You, my son Agga Horn, may go with the men to shoot some deer in the woods; perhaps, the good gentlemen may be hungry when they come.

S. Pæntor, apitzi nijr matzi pomùttamen. I understand that well, I will go immediately out a hunting.

After being a hunting, he returns with venison.

F. Hatte pomùttamen? Have you been a hunting?

S. Mochij hatte. Yes, I have.

F. Cheko hatte? What have you done?

S. Mochijrick Mäs ock Harta mochi-jrick. We have killed two elks

and as many deer as will be wanted.

F. Sickenem matta mosùttamen? Have you shot no turkeys?

S. Ètticke atack nissa Sickenem. I shall have also twelve turkeys.

F. Tæppat, tæppat. Enough, enough.

The people are now assembled in council.

Chijre nitappi? Are you here, good friends?

Nijre. Yes; here we are.

Huritt, huritt chijr pæwwo. That is well, you are welcome.

Chijr mattapping. Set down and rest.

The warriors answer,

Mochij, nijr pockquijra. With pleasure, for we are much tired.

Chijr rarokutto ock? Are you also hungry?

The warriors answer,

Ëtticke. Yes, may be we are hungry.
Nooto, chijr olomat ana pãmska,
chijr ock rarokãtto: apitzi chijr
mitzi. I know you have gone a

great way, so you must be very
hungry; we shall have meat pre-
sently.

The warriors answer,

Ëfiritt. That will do for us.
Jãni hatte, mitzi, mitzi sukwijvan
nitãppe. Here you have to eat;
eat all ye good friends.
Mochij nijr mitzi. Yes, we will do
our best. Give us meat.
Bissum mitzi? Do you also want
drink?

Pezet Bissum. Give us drink.
Winckan bij. That is sweet, good
water.
Hãw chijso, Kéne, Kéne itta. We
are now well satisfied. Thanks,
thanks.

The Sachem's Speech to the Warriors.

Sukwijvan nitãppe, matta chijr si-
ringve, kotz missionus Agga Horn,
pãhã nde itta. Kõnna Schoores
hätte nijr ãna tutãnung, ock vick-
ãmen mochazrik hatte, maramen
chékã, matta Schoores hatte, Kale-
backchẽtti Schoores. Nijr apitzi
bakãntãmen Schoores anekaroppãn
ock sinkattãmen; kõnna ock matta
bakãntã, matta bachittã, chékã
nijr maranjito, matta nooto. Kotz
nijr ock tahottãmen chijr pãzwo:
Kõnna chijr ock nijr maranjito ni-
mockã, chékã maranjito. Chijr
Sachẽman ock pijri Renãppe,
chékã rãe chijr? Tundarijion
Schoores: matta hatte oquvãn,
matta Sãnhus, matta Hopickã,
matta Pũck, matta arũn, mat-
ta chékã hatte maramen; senãwes
hätte sukwijvan hãrĩtt.
My good friends, all of you, don't
take it amiss that my son has

called you to this place. The
Swedes dwell here upon our land;
and they have many fortresses and
houses for their habitation; but
they have no goods to sell to us;
we can find nothing in their stores
that we want, and we cannot trade
with them; the question is, whe-
ther we shall go out and kill all
the Swedes, and destroy them al-
together, or, whether we shall suf-
fer them to remain? Therefore,
I am glad that you have come here,
that we may consult together on
this subject. You chiefs and war-
riors, what advice do you give?
What shall we do with the Swedes?
They have no cloth, red, blue, or
brown. They have no kettles, no
brass, no lead, no guns, no pow-
der: they have nothing to sell to us;
but the English and Dutch have
got all sorts of good merchandise.

Some of the chiefs answer,

Nijr ock Schoores seã nitãppe, tahõttã-
men Schoores. We are for the
Swedes; we have nothing against
them.

Pijri sachẽman rãe: Ëtticke bakit-
tãn Schoores kõnna mattãrĩtti, matta

hãttẽ chékã nijr maramen. Ano-
ther chief answers, It would be
well to kill all the Swedes; for
they have nothing in their stores,
for which we can trade with them.

The common warriors answer,

Kotz bachittan Achoores, Achoores nitäppe, mätta sheu kalebackscheti, apitzi hatte mochiirik mockor chisbo suhwijran huritt. Wherefore should we kill all the Swedes, and root them out of the country? they are in friendship with us, we have no complaint to make of them; presently they will bring

here a large ship, full of all sorts of good things.

Chijr äe huritt, nijr ock renäckt r äe. You talk well; we, common warriors, agree with you.

Matta bakanta ock mätta sinkattam Achoores? Then we shall not kill all the Swedes, and root them out of the country.

Others reply,

Matta, kitzi mätta, konna Achoores huritt, apitzi hatte mochiirik moekur chisbo. No, by no means; for the

Swedes are good enough, and they will shortly have here a large ship, full of all sorts of goods.

The King's decision.

Nænnar, nijr suhwijran Renappi, tahöttamen Achoores nitäppi, nijr Renappe ock Achoores sheu maramen checko hutteu ock mätta ajuttamen, mätta bakittan, kitzi. Right so: we native Indians will love the Swedes, and the Swedes shall be

our good friends. We, and the Swedes, and the Dutch, shall always trade with each other; we shall not make war upon them and destroy them. This is fixed, and certain; take care to observe it.

The whole Meeting answers,

Nijr suhij suhvan pasha, moch kitzi! We all agree to it; it shall be fixed, and certain!

Mættzi mättzi. Now we are going home.

Ock pijri; mochiimatzi. Yes; farewell.

Tucktaan? Whither are you going?

Mechakanzioo. To our plantation.

Pæntor. I understand.

Jetticke jäskung kiste. The maize is now fully ripe.

Kitzi kiste. Yes, it is certainly ripe.

Hiih, matzi. Now, then, fare ye well.

MÆTTZI TARANNI. *This is the end.*

ADDENDA.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE MINQUES, OR MINCKUS, AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

Besides the Americans whom we have already spoken of and described, there were found when the Swedes first came to this country, within eighteen miles' circumference, ten or eleven other Indian nations, who spoke different languages, and had their own sachems or chiefs over them. Among these, the Minques, or Minckus were the principal, and were renowned for their warlike character. These Indians lived at the distance of twelve miles from New Sweden, where they daily came to trade with us. The way to their land was very bad, being stony, full of sharp gray stones, with hills and morasses; so that the Swedes, when they went to them, which happened, generally, once or twice a-year, had to walk in the water up to their armpits. They went thither with cloth, kettles, axes, hatchets, knives, mirrors and coral beads, which they sold to them for beaver and other valuable skins, also for black fox's and fisher's skins, which is a kind of skin that looks like sable, but with longer hair, and silvery hair mixed like some of the best sables, with beaver, velvet, black squirrel's skins, &c. These precious furs are the principal articles which the Minques have for sale. They live on a high mountain, very steep and difficult to climb; there they have a fort, or square building, surrounded with palisades, in which they reside in the manner that has been above described, (p. 123.) There they have guns, and small

iron cannon, with which they shoot and defend themselves, and take with them when they go to war. They are strong and vigorous, both young and old; they are a tall people, and not frightful in their appearance. When they are fighting, they do not attempt to fly, but all stand like a wall, as long as there is one remaining. They forced the other Indians, whom we have before mentioned, and who are not so warlike as the Minques, to be afraid of them, and made them subject and tributary to them; so that they dare not stir, much less go to war against them: but their numbers are, at present, greatly diminished by wars and sickness.

My grandfather, John Campanius, having made a small vocabulary of the language of these Minque Indians, I have thought proper to insert it here, that the difference may be seen between this language, and that of the other Indians.

—◆—

*Vocabulary of the Minque Language.**

<i>Raueloin.</i> A man.	<i>Sischijro.</i> Eat.
<i>Achonkæfti.</i> A woman.	<i>Nækhu.</i> Yea.
<i>Jase.</i> Brother-in-law.	<i>Tæsta.</i> No.
<i>Generoo.</i> Good friend.	<i>Honan jaijoo.</i> I am tired.
<i>Agandæero.</i> We are good friends.	<i>Hije.</i> I.
<i>Chanoro his.</i> I make much of you.	<i>His.</i> Thou.
<i>Rhadæero.</i> My particularly good friend.	<i>Gaija?</i> Have you?
<i>Otzkænna.</i> Pious, good.	<i>Hijwe.</i> Other things.
<i>Zatzioore.</i> To boil.	<i>Tæsta gaije.</i> I have not.
<i>Oroegue.</i> Flesh, meat.	<i>Aghoora, Zaband.</i> Indian money as above described.
<i>Mædra, Canædra.</i> Bread.	<i>Skajaano.</i> Valuable skins or furs, as sables, &c.
<i>Onæta.</i> Indian corn.	<i>Sændergarjaago.</i> Beaver.
<i>Onægha, Cænegga.</i> Water.	<i>Kanjoaga, Ajung.</i> Bear skin.
<i>Canæquæssa.</i> Drink.	<i>Hæha.</i> Elk's skin.
<i>Tætzæe.</i> Sit and stay.	

* *Minque, Minques, Minques,* in the language of the Delawares, means the people whom we call *Iroquois*, or the six nations; to wit, the Onondæas, Onondagoes, Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras.

Sissu. Fox.
Skáirwá. Turkey.
Háque. Skin.
Kajunckekeháque. Black skin.
Kaatzie. Come here.
Zatznari. Be quick.
Achóza. Directly.
Avaránsi. Thank you.
Katza gajje? What have you got?
Kareenach. A knife.
Kareenach testa hije gajje. I have a knife for you.
Néhhá híe gajje kareenach. Yes, you have a knife.
Testa Zároncka. I don't understand.
Hije Zároncka. But I understand.
Serwquackri. You are bad.
Testa, testa. No, no.
Énhoduraada? What will you?
Skaddanjnu? Will you sell or barter something.
Anhooda? What?
Katzerá. Clothes.
Sanjooza. Linen, shirts.
Khaalis. Stockings.
Aackqua. Shoes.
Kaháronka, Karáda. A gun.
Kasequara. A sword.

Tinijgo etthoharhá? How much money will you have for it?
Oontack. A pot, a kettle.
Kaatzie. A dish.
Karóónta. A stone.
Chanoona. A tobacco pipe.
Ojeengqua. Tobacco.
Omúse ofengua. Smoking tobacco.
Adogen, hadoogan. An axe.
Uhsijsta. Fire.
Zaruncka kaháichá uthsústa? Can you make fire?
Koona. Great, large.
Stunga. Little.
Tzidize. A cat.
Ahgarija. A dog.
Testa sis chíjje. The dog does not bite.
Haaga. A deer.
Sarukalis haaga. To shoot deer.
Kassha scházenú. Give me that for nothing.
Chotris chíjje. See here what I will give you.
Hie káhhú scházenú. I will give it you again.
Hoo. May be.
Hooná sattuande. Now I am going away.

NUMERALS.

<i>Onshat,</i>	-	-	-	1.	<i>Raiéne schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	14.
<i>Tiggene,</i>	-	-	-	2.	<i>Wisch schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	15.
<i>Axe,</i>	-	-	-	3.	<i>Jaiack schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	16.
<i>Raiéne,</i>	-	-	-	4.	<i>Tzadack schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	17.
<i>Wisch,</i>	-	-	-	5.	<i>Tickerom schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	18.
<i>Jaiack,</i>	-	-	-	6.	<i>Waderom schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	19.
<i>Tzadack,</i>	-	-	-	7.	<i>Tykeni d. washa,</i>	-	-	-	20.
<i>Tickerom,</i>	-	-	-	8.	<i>Washa ne washa,</i>	-	-	-	100.
<i>Waderom,</i>	-	-	-	9.	<i>Washa ne washa ónshat,</i>	-	-	-	101.
<i>Washa,</i>	-	-	-	10.	<i>Washa ne washa tiggene,</i>	-	-	-	102.
<i>Onshat schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	11.	<i>Washa ne washa axe,</i>	-	-	-	103.
<i>Tiggene schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	12.	<i>Washa ne washa rajéne,</i>	-	-	-	104.
<i>Axe schaaro,</i>	-	-	-	13.	<i>Éc.</i>			<i>Éc.</i>	

CHAPTER II.

OF SOME RARE AND REMARKABLE THINGS IN AMERICA.

As we have begun this short treatise with speaking of America in general, we shall conclude it in the same manner, and communicate to the curious reader, as briefly as possible, a few remarkable and astonishing facts. Among the many and various kinds of birds that are in America, and are worthy of being noticed, it seems proper to mention one which is called *Cumades*, and is considered to be the most beautiful bird on earth. It is about as large as a pheasant; its back and half of its wings is of a light sky blue colour. The belly, and under the wings is of a bright Aurora colour. The tail and the largest feathers are mixed with a brilliant flesh colour, speckled with sky blue; over the back the colour is grass green, and of a shiny black, which admirably contrasts with the yellow, blue, and other various-coloured feathers. The finest part of this bird is the head, which is adorned with feathers of a brownish red, which stick out in a bunch, amidst the green, yellow, and sky blue, and produce a beautiful effect. The eyelids are white, and the eyeballs yellow and red, looking like a ruby set in gold. On the top of the head it has a deep red bunch of feathers, which shine like a red burning coal. This bird is mild and tractable among those that he knows, but is shy of those that he is not acquainted with. He has a disposition to imitate the sounds of different languages and tunes.

Among the small birds of America there is none so small as the one they call *Colibri*, or *humming bird*. This may be justly called the smallest bird in the world, as its whole body is little longer than one joint of a finger; yet it does not generate like insects, but regularly lays its eggs and hatches them. What is most remarkable in these small birds is the beauty of their feathers, which shine with a variety of bright colours, much supe-

rior to those of the peacock; so that their feathers may, from their brilliancy and lustre, be compared to emeralds, and the red ones to rubies. This bird seeks its food in the fine flowery fields of America; and extracts its nourishment from the flowers as the bees do their honey. While it is feeding on a flower, it flutters with its wings, so that the flower and the animal together resemble a jewel set with living stones; and although in this manner a great deal of its brilliancy and beauty is lost, yet what remains is superior to any thing that can be seen. Therefore the American women use them as ear-rings, and consider them as a beautiful ornament to their persons. Several of these birds have been brought to Europe, stuffed and well preserved, and adorn the cabinets of the learned.

Among the fishes of America, there is a species which the Dutch call *Sea Parrots*; they have beautiful shining eyes, the pupil of which is bright as crystal, and is enclosed in a circle of emerald green; the scales are of the same colour. They have no teeth, but both their upper and under jaws are of a hard, strong, bony substance, of the same colour with their scales; they feed on all kinds of shell-fish, and with their hard jaws, as with two mill-stones, they can crack oysters, muscles, and every kind of shell-fish, and take out the meat from them. This fish is very good to eat, and so large that many of them weigh above twenty merks.*

There are two lakes in Brazil, full of fish; in a thunder-storm a quantity of them are caught, which are so fat, that the inhabitants use their fat instead of butter, and melt it to cook their victuals.

In other places in America, there is a handsome little four-footed animal, called the *fly-catcher*. The skins of some of them are speckled with gold and silver, and those of others with green, yellow, and other beautiful colours: they are so familiar with man, that they will fearlessly enter a house and settle themselves there as if they were at home, without, however, do-

* One hundred and sixty pounds.

ing any damage; on the contrary, they clear the house of flies and other insects, so that it is truly wonderful. They are so tame that they will settle themselves on a table, and drive away all the flies from those who are sitting around it. They lay small eggs, which they cover with earth, and let them hatch in the heat of the sun. When they are killed, they lose all their fine colours, and their skin is of a deadly paleness.

There is a remarkable insect in America, which the Dutch call the *flying tiger*. Its skin is spotted all over, like that of the tiger, with various colours. In size it is equal to the largest beetle, its head is sharp-pointed; it has two large green eyes, which shine as emeralds. Its mouth is armed with two hard and sharp claws, which it uses to hold its prey while it devours it. Its whole body is covered with a hard blackish scale. Under its wings there is a hard gluey substance. It has four small wings, soft as silk, and it is provided with six feet, each of which has two joints, with which they catch the flies, and other little insects; but at night they sit upon trees, and sing.

There is also a kind of fly, which the Indians call *Cucuyo*, which in the night gives so strong a light, that it is sufficient, when a man is travelling, to show him the way: one may also write and read the smallest print by the light which they give. When the Indians go in the night a hunting, they fasten those insects to their hands and feet, by which means they can see their way as well as in the day time. One night those flies frightened all the soldiers that were on guard at Fort Christina, in New Sweden: they thought they were enemies advancing towards them with lighted matches.

There grows in Peru a kind of grass, of which, if you put some in the hands of a sick man, and he remains anxious and sad, he will surely die: on the contrary, if he appear cheerful, it is a sure sign that he will recover.

In the valley of *Lampaa*, in Chili, 15 miles from St. Jago, there is an herb which looks like *Ocymi* or *Basilica*: it is one hand high, and every day in the month of June, it is covered with grains of salt, which look like pearls; the Americans think much of it, and find that it has a very delicate taste.

There is a kind of grass in Virginia, which the English call *silk-grass*. It has long small leaves, on which is a fine shiny substance, from which is drawn excellent silk, which is spun and woven into different kinds of stuffs.

The ground in New Sweden is covered with all sorts of shells, which are also found in the water and on the sea-shore, and seem to indicate that the land was formerly under water. The earth has this peculiar property, that one may sow rye in it and reap wheat, and sometimes sow wheat which will produce rye. So it is related by the engineer, P. Lindstrom.

In New Sweden, as Rudman relates, there grows a little tree, which looks like Juniper, and is called the *Savan*; it has the property of making a mare barren, or bring out her foal before the time. For that purpose you need only give her a handful of it.

In Hispaniola, there is a very high mountain, at the foot of which there is a very large cave, at the distance of five hundred feet from the sea. The entrance to it, in the form of an arch, is like the gate of a large temple. Once a sea captain, by order of the Spanish Governor, ventured into that gulf with a ship, and narrowly escaped with life. He related that the water runs into it through hidden channels, and rises into water-spouts, making a horrible noise.

In the year 1549, on the 29th of August, in Florida, half a mile from the French fort, a flash of lightning fell from heaven, which burned all the verdure on the ground, and all the birds in the air, and the water was so heated that a great quantity of fish died. This conflagration continued three days, after which the air was so unhealthy, and there was such a stench that many men died in consequence. This is related by Capt. Laudonniere, in his Travels, among several other remarkable things. In conclusion we must say: "Great are the Lord's works in all lands, and among all nations; those who reflect well thereon, have attained the highest degree of wisdom."

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF THE SWEDISH FAMILIES RESIDING IN NEW SWEDEN IN THE YEAR 1693, WITH THE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN EACH FAMILY.

Heads of Families.	Persons.	Heads of Families.	Persons.
Peter Rambo, sen.	- - 2.	Johan Scute,	- - - 4.
Peter Rambo, jun.	- - 6.	Matts Hollsten,	- - - 7.
Johan Rambo,	- - 6.	Johan Stille,	- - - 8.
Anders Rambo,	- - 9.	Anders Wihler,	- - - 4.
Gunnar Rambo,	- - 6.	Mans Gostafson,	- - - 2.
Capt. Lasse Cock,	- - 11.	Nils Laican,	- - - 5.
Erie Cock,	- - 9.	Eric Molica,	- - - 8.
Måns Cock,	- - 8.	Jonas Kyn,	- - - 8.
Johan Cock,	- - 7.	Matts Kyn,	- - - 3.
Gabriel Cock,	- - 7.	Bengt Bengtsson,	- - - 2.
Anders Bengtsson,	- - 9.	Christian Classon,	- - - 7.
Anders Bonde,	- - 11.	Nils Gastenberg,	- - - 3.
Sven Bonde,	- - 5.	Eric Gastenberg,	- - - 7.
Johan Svensson,	- - 9.	Lars Bure,	- - - 8.
Gunnar Svensson,	- - 5.	Lars Johansson,	- - - 6.
Anders Nilsson,	- - 3.	Didrich Johansson,	- - - 5.
Brita Gostafson,	- - 6.	Peter Stillman,	- - - 4.
Gostaf Gostafson,	- - 8.	Frederic König,	- - - 6.
Jonas Nilsson,	- - 4.	Elias Tay,	- - - 4.
Nils Jonsson,	- - 6.	Jonas Stillman,	- - - 4.
Måns Jonsson,	- - 6.	Casper Fisk,	- - - 10.
Anders Jonsson,	- - 4.	Staphan Ekhorn,	- - - 5.
Jon Jonsson,	- - 2.	Peter Dahlbo,	- - - 9.
Hans Jonansson,	- - 11.	Otto Dahlbo,	- - - 7.
Måns Stuake,	- - 1.	Johan Mattason,	- - - 11.
Peter Stake, alias Petersson,	- 3.	Antonij Long,	- - - 3.
Marten Martensson, sen.	- 3.	Nils Mattson,	- - - 3.
Marten Mattenson jun.	- 10.	And. Perrson Longaker,	- 7.
Mats Martensson,	- 4.	Mårtan Knutsson,	- 6.
Otto Ernst Cock,	- 5.	Nils Frende's widow,	- 7.
Michel Nilsson,	- 11.	Anders Frende,	- 4.
Peter Joccom,	- 9.	Reiner Peterson,	- 2.
Johan Bonde,	- 1.	Anders Hindricksson,	- 4.

Hheads of Families.	Persons.	Hheads of Families.	Persons.
Johan Von Culen, - - -	5.	Lasse Kempe, - - -	6.
Hindrich Faske, - - -	5.	Gösta Paulsson, - - -	6.
Johan Hindricsson, - - -	5.	Hans Gostafsson, - - -	7.
Johan Arian, - - -	6.	Johan Andersson, - - -	7.
William Cabb, - - -	6.	Hindrich Jacobsson, - - -	4.
Hans Kyns's widow, - - -	5.	Jacob Van der Weer, - - -	7.
Chierstin Stalcop, - - -	3.	Cornelius Van der Weer, - - -	7.
Lucas Stedham, - - -	7.	William Van der Weer, - - -	1.
Lyloff Stedham, - - -	9.	Jacob Van der Weer, - - -	3.
Adam Stedham, - - -	8.	Hans Petersson, - - -	5.
Asmund Stedham, - - -	5.	Paul Petersson, - - -	3.
Benjamin Stedham, - - -	7.	Peter Petersson, - - -	3.
Brita Petersson, - - -	8.	Peter Mansson, - - -	3.
Joran Anderson, - - -	5.	Johan Mansson, - - -	5.
Broor Seneca, - - -	7.	Hindrich Tossa, - - -	5.
Jesper Wallraven, - - -	7.	Johan Tossa, - - -	4.
Jonas Wallraven, - - -	1.	Thomas Jonsson, - - -	1.
Conrad Constantine, - - -	6.	Jacob Clemmson, - - -	1.
Olle Thomasson, - - -	9.	Olle Resse, - - -	5.
Peter Palsson, - - -	5.	Jacob Classon, - - -	6.
Johan Ommerson, - - -	5.	Hindrich Andersson, - - -	5.
Mathias De Foff, - - -	6.	Lucas Lucasson, - - -	1.
Christiern Jöransson, - - -	1.	Hans Lucasson, - - -	1.
Carl Springer, - - -	5.	Olle Kuckow, - - -	6.
Israel Helm, - - -	5.	Hindrich Slobey, - - -	2.
Anders Homman, - - -	9.	Christopher Meyer, - - -	7.
Olle Diricksson, - - -	7.	Hindrich Larsson, - - -	6.
Anders Lock, - - -	1.	Matte Ericsson, - - -	3.
Måns Lock, - - -	1.	Eric Ericsson, - - -	1.
Hans Petersson, - - -	7.	Thomas Dennis, - - -	6.
Hindrich Collman, - - -	1.	Anders Robertsson, - - -	3.
Jöns Gostafsson, - - -	3.	Robert Longhorn, - - -	4.
Johan Hoppman, - - -	7.	Anders Didricsson, - - -	1.
Frederich Hoppman, - - -	7.	Peter Stalcop, - - -	6.
Anders Hoppman, - - -	7.	Jöran Bagman, - - -	3.
Nicholas Hoppman, - - -	5.	Eric Goransson, - - -	2.
Måns Hallton, - - -	9.	Jöran Joranson, - - -	1.
Johan Andersson, - - -	9.	Lorentz Osterason, - - -	2.
Olle Pehrsson, - - -	6.	Johan Hindricsson, - - -	6.
Lars Pehrsson, - - -	1.	David Hindricsson, - - -	7.
Hans Olsson, - - -	5.	Carl Petersson, - - -	5.
William Talley, - - -	7.	Jaac Savoy, - - -	7.
Hindrich Iwarsson, - - -	9.	Olle Fransson, - - -	7.
Johan Skrika, - - -	1.	Lars Petersson, - - -	1.
Matts Skrika, - - -	3.	Matts Repott, - - -	3.
Olle Paulsson, - - -	9.	Olle Stoby, - - -	3.
Johan Stillman, - - -	5.	Matts Stark, - - -	3.
Hindric Parchon, - - -	4.	Johan Stalcop, - - -	6.
Simon Johansson, - - -	10.	Israel Stark, - - -	1.
Johan Grantum, - - -	3.	Matts Tossa, - - -	1.
Bengt Paulson, - - -	5.	Staphan Joranson, - - -	5.

Heads of Families.	Persons.	Heads of Families.	Persons.
Lars Larsson,	7.	Johan Hindersson, jun. -	3.
Christiern Thomas's widow, -	6.	Anders Weinom, - . .	4.
Paul Sahlunge,	3.	Lars Larsson, - . . .	1.
Lars Halling,	1.	Hindric Danielsson, -	5.
Paul Mink,	5.	Olle Thorsson, - . .	4.
Johan Schrage,	6.	Jonas Skagges's widow, -	6.
Nils Repott,	3.	Lars Tossa, -	1.
Hindrich Jacob,	1.	Goran Ericsson, - . .	1.
Matts Jacob,	1.	Jacob Hindricsson, -	5.
Anders Seneca,	5.	Peter Lucasson, - . .	1.

188 Families. 907 Individuals.

ERRATUM.

From page 39 to page 111, both inclusive, the running title, on the right hand pages, should be *Nine Swedes*, instead of *America in General*, which has been continued through mistake.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses and income. The document provides a detailed list of items that should be tracked, such as inventory levels, accounts payable, and accounts receivable.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze financial data. This includes the use of spreadsheets, databases, and specialized software. The document explains how these tools can be used to identify trends, track performance over time, and generate reports that are easy to understand. It also discusses the importance of regular audits and reconciliations to catch any errors or discrepancies early on.

The third part of the document focuses on the practical aspects of financial management. It provides a step-by-step guide to setting up a budget, monitoring expenses, and adjusting spending as needed. The author also discusses the importance of staying on top of tax obligations and ensuring that all necessary documentation is kept up to date. This section includes several examples of budget templates and checklists to help readers get started.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the key points discussed throughout the text. It reiterates the importance of accuracy, consistency, and transparency in financial reporting. The author encourages readers to take the time to review their financial records regularly and to seek professional advice if needed. The document is intended to serve as a comprehensive resource for anyone looking to improve their financial management skills.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE YEAR 1827,
BY **GEORGE B. WOOD, M. D.**

Read before the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, October 29th, 1837.

AND

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[The page contains extremely faint and illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the document. The text is scattered across the page and cannot be transcribed accurately.]

PREFACE.

THE author of the following sketch, having been appointed to deliver the anniversary address before the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania, in the year 1826, was induced to make some investigations into the history of that institution, the results of which were stated, in general terms, on the occasion referred to. In the course of his inquiries, numerous facts presented themselves, which, though not sufficiently important to claim a place in a brief address, appeared to him too much so to be passed over with neglect; and the idea occurred to him, that a history of the University, for the preparation of which he possessed some materials, was due to the relation in which the Institution was placed to the state and city, and might prove interesting, if not serviceable to the community. He accordingly extended his researches, and having accumulated such additional facts and information as appeared essential to the purpose, drew up the following account of the school, and presented it to the Historical Society, as a body peculiarly interested in whatever concerns the past or present affairs of Pennsylvania, and one to whose judgment he was desirous of submitting

the question of publication. It is proper to state, that, in the collection of his materials, the author had access to the minutes of the University from its origin, in the form of an Academy, in 1749, to the period at which the history closes. His other sources of information were the works of Dr. Franklin and Dr. William Smith, the periodical journals and newspapers, the public documents of the state, and oral or written communications from gentlemen connected with the school. The reader is requested to bear in mind, that the following historical sketch was prepared in the early part of the year 1827; as otherwise he might be led into error, by considering as applicable to the present time, the references which are frequently made to the period at which the author wrote. It would be a satisfaction to the author, to have it in his power to continue the narration down to the present date, and to conclude with an accurate account of the school as it now exists; but the engrossing nature of his avocations renders this impossible; and he will be under the necessity of contenting himself with some brief notices, in the way of notes or appendix, in relation to points in which the most interesting changes have occurred.

Philadelphia, December 20th, 1833.

THE

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER I.

**EARLY EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA.—ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE ACADEMY.—INCORPORATION OF THE COLLEGE.**

IN newly settled countries, the necessity of providing for present subsistence, and the desire of securing those comforts which previous habit has rendered indispensable to the enjoyment of life, are apt to divert the attention from objects of less immediate interest. The settlers, while contending with the physical difficulties of their new situation, have little regard for the intellectual wants of their offspring; and forgetting, or imperfectly appreciating the advantages they had themselves enjoyed in early life, think that they perform all the duty of parents, by procuring for their children an exemption from those inconveniences, which they have learned to regard as the greatest evils. Education, therefore, is more or less neglected; and it not unfrequently happens, that the community, contrary to the usual course of

events, falls back, for the first generation, towards a state of ignorance, instead of advancing in knowledge and civilization. This remark applies, to a certain extent, to the early period of our own history. Though a few individuals, born and educated in the colonies, were elevated into distinction by the force of native talent, yet the great majority of those who were remarkable for literary attainments, had either emigrated from the mother country, or had received their education in her schools.

The first colonists of Pennsylvania, were, perhaps, less negligent in providing the means of elementary instruction, than those of most of the other settlements. In the year 1689, only seven years after the foundation of Philadelphia, a public school was established in this city, by members of the Society of Friends, which was incorporated in 1697, and after undergoing various changes in its organization, received, in 1711, a final charter from William Penn. Fifteen "discreet and religious persons, of the people called Quakers," were constituted a Board of Overseers, and were vested with all the property and privileges of the corporation, together with the right of supplying vacancies in their own numbers. George Keith, a native of Aberdeen, a man of learning, and famous in the history of the Friends, was the first teacher employed. In the school were taught the Latin language, the Mathematics, and the rudiments of an English education. Though supported by funds derived from the Society of Friends, and under the exclusive direction of members of that society, it was open indiscriminately to individuals of all religious denominations; and for more than sixty years, continued to be the only public place of instruction in the province.

But, before the end of this period, the school had become entirely inadequate to the demand of a rapidly increasing

population; and though private schools were not wanting, still the means even of elementary education were very deficient.* In the higher branches of knowledge, instruction was accessible only to the sons of the wealthy, who were able to support the expense of a residence abroad, either in the mother country, or in one of the older colonies of New England. There was, therefore, an urgent demand for a seminary, founded upon liberal principles, and embracing within its plan all those subjects of study, which are necessary to qualify the youth of a growing and prosperous community for the performance of the various duties of public and private life.

A want so obvious could not escape the penetration of our great Franklin; and, with his active and patriotic spirit, to be convinced of any public deficiency, was at once to use every exertion for its supply. His attention was accordingly directed, at a very early period, to the means of extending the benefits of education in the city and province; and in the year 1743, he drew up the plan of an academy, which he communicated to the Reverend Richard Peters, with the hope, that, as this gentleman was then out of employ, he might be induced to take upon himself the superintendence of such an establishment. Failing, however, in obtaining the desired co-operation, and occupied with other public affairs, which appeared to be of more pressing importance, he dropped the scheme for the time; and the war which soon afterwards broke out between Great Britain and France, the effects of which were extended to the colonies, prevented its renewal for several years. Upon the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the consequent restoration of tranquillity in

* It appears from an extract from the Journal of the Council, given by Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, that a school was opened in Philadelphia, so early as the year 1683, by Enoch Flower, a native of Wiltshire, who taught reading, writing, and casting accounts for eight shillings a quarter.

the provinces, his thoughts reverted to the subject; and in the year 1749, he entered with zeal upon such measures as he supposed would most promote the success of the project. As the first step, he endeavoured to interest in his favour several friends; of whom Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Francis, and the Reverend Richard Peters, seem to have been the most active and efficient. Having secured their approbation and assistance, he next proceeded to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled "Proposals relative to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," which he took care to circulate extensively among the most respectable inhabitants of the city. The proposals attracted much attention, and several of the most influential citizens, to the number of twenty-four, having met together, determined to associate themselves into a Board of Trustees, for the purpose of carrying the design into effect.* Their first object was to establish certain regulations for their own government. It was determined that they should not "for any services by them as trustees performed, claim or receive any reward or compensation." It was also determined, that the original number of twenty-four, should "always be continued, but never exceed upon any motive whatsoever;" and that vacancies should be supplied by the choice of the board from among the inhabitants of Philadelphia, or persons residing in its immediate neighbourhood. These rules were established as fundamental,

* Among the names of those gentlemen are many which are still well known and highly esteemed in Philadelphia. They were James Logan, Thomas Lawrence, William Allen, John Inglis, Tench Francis, William Masters, Lloyd Zackary, Samuel Mc. Call jr., Joseph Turner, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Leech, William Shippen, Robert Strettell, Philip Syng, Charles Willing, Phineas Bond, Richard Peters, Abraham Taylor, Thomas Bond, Thomas Hopkinson, William Plumsted, Joshua Maddox, Thomas White, and William Coleman. Benjamin Franklin was chosen president, and William Coleman treasurer of the board.

and declared to be unalterable: others were also drawn up, adapted to the object in view, but alterable at the pleasure of the board. They were signed by the trustees on the 13th of November, 1749.

Having thus constituted themselves governors of the proposed institution, they proceeded to provide funds for its establishment; and on the day following that of the signature, very liberally subscribed among themselves a sum exceeding two thousand pounds, to be raised in five yearly payments, "declaring it to be for the encouragement of their useful, good, and charitable undertaking; and to enable themselves and their successors to begin, promote, continue, and enlarge the same, humbly hoping, through the favour of Almighty God, and the bounty and patronage of pious and well disposed persons, that it might be of great and lasting benefit to the present and future rising generations." To the amount thus contributed, very considerable additions were afterwards made by subscriptions among the citizens, by gifts and legacies from charitable individuals, and by various other means which will be noticed more particularly hereafter. But as these funds were not immediately available, it was necessary, in the commencement, to have recourse to a loan, and the trustees accordingly borrowed eight hundred pounds, on their own joint bond.

The next object was to procure a suitable building; and in this, they were remarkably fortunate.* The celebrated Whitfield had arrived in America a few years before this pe-

* I find it mentioned on the minutes of the board of trustees, that a lot of ground in Sixth Street was offered to them by James Logan, upon which to erect an academy, "provided it should be built within the term of 14 years." The offer was declined, as "*the new building* was, in all respects, better suited to their present circumstances and future views." The trustees, however, expressed "a most grateful sense of his regard to the academy," and returned him "their sincere thanks for his kind and generous offer."

riod. Though excluded from the churches of Philadelphia, and compelled to preach in the fields, such was the power of his eloquence, that immense crowds were collected to hear him, and a fervour of religious feeling was excited in the community, of which the annals of the country had afforded no previous example. In this state of the public mind, it was proposed to erect an edifice, which might serve the double purpose of a charity school, and a place of public worship for Whitfield, and other ministers of the gospel, similarly circumstanced. Little difficulty was experienced in obtaining adequate subscriptions; a lot was procured in Fourth, near the corner of Mulberry Street; and a large building was speedily raised, which is still standing, and well known to Philadelphians by the name of *the academy*.^{*} At that time, however, it was called *the new building*, and as people of almost every religious denomination had been concerned in its erection, it was vested in trustees selected from different sects, among whom were Whitfield and Franklin. But the lot having been purchased on ground rent, and money having been borrowed for the completion of the building, the trustees, after the expiration of a few years, found themselves involved in an increasing debt, which the subsidence of the original enthusiasm left them without the means of discharging. Things were in this condition, when the project of an academy was announced. It was thought that the objects of both establishments might be attained by a combination of their resources; and as Franklin was a member of each body of trustees, an agreement was effected, by his agency, satisfactory to both parties. A conveyance of the new building was made to the trustees

^{*} It may be proper to state, that one-half of this building has been recently removed, and a church erected on its site by a Society of Methodists.—*December, 1833.*

of the academy, on the conditions, that the debt, now amounting to nearly eight hundred pounds, should be discharged; that a free-school should be maintained on the premises; and that in the house already built, or in one to be built for the purpose, a place of worship should be set apart for the occasional use of such ministers of the gospel as the trustees might judge qualified to "teach the word of God;" and especially, that its free and uninterrupted use should be permitted to the Rev. Mr. George Whitfield, "whenever he should happen to be in the city, and desire to preach therein." These conditions have been complied with; and to this day a charity school has been maintained, and a room kept open in the building, for the convenience of itinerant preachers. This transaction took place in December, 1749; but, as many alterations were to be made in the edifice to fit it for the new purposes to which it was to be applied, and the trustees were desirous of carrying their design into immediate effect, it became necessary to procure temporary accommodations; and the schools were first opened in a private house. It was not till the commencement of the year 1751, that they were introduced into the new hall; on which occasion, the usual solemnities were observed, and a sermon was preached by the Rev. Richard Peters.*

The views of the trustees were at first wisely directed to the communication of that elementary knowledge, which is most essential to the citizens of a rising community, and the acquisition of which is a necessary step towards the attainment of the higher branches. For the present, therefore, they restricted their establishment within the limits of a

* This gentleman, though a clergyman, was employed in the secular office of provincial secretary. He was a man of high standing, and very considerable influence; and was the successor of Franklin in the presidency of the board of trustees.

simple academy, deferring a further extension of the scheme, till the success of their first efforts should have demonstrated its practicability, and smoothed the way for its accomplishment.

In the academy were embraced one school for the Latin, one for English, and one for the Mathematics, under the care of three masters with their assistant ushers, the principal of whom had the title of rector. A charity school was also opened, in which the children of poor citizens were instructed gratis. It is worthy of observation, that among the teachers originally employed in the academy was Charles Thompson, afterwards rendered conspicuous by his office of secretary to the Revolutionary Congress, and venerable in the recollection of Philadelphians for his virtues and abilities, as well as for the advanced age which he attained. He was, during four years, one of the tutors in the Latin school, at the end of which time he left it in pursuit of other business, having discharged the duties of his office with entire satisfaction to his superiors.

Finding the schools to prosper, and to present a good prospect of permanent usefulness, the trustees resolved to apply for a charter, which was readily granted them by the proprietors. By this instrument, which bears date July 13th, 1753, they were incorporated by the name of the "Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the province of Pennsylvania."

A continuance of prosperity soon induced them to extend their views beyond the limits within which they had originally restricted themselves. To the branches before taught, were now added Logic, Rhetoric, Natural and Moral Philosophy; and it was as a teacher of these sciences that the Rev. Wm. Smith, who in the future became highly distinguished, was introduced into the institution. The study of the Greek Language was joined with that of Latin; and a

course of instruction having thus been adopted equal in extent to that usually pursued in the highest seminaries, nothing more was requisite to place the academy of Philadelphia on the footing of a collegiate establishment, than the right of assuming the title, and the privilege of conferring degrees upon the students. The hope of obtaining collegiate honours has always exercised a powerful influence over the youthful mind; and every seminary, however extensive may be its plan, and whatever the qualifications of the teachers, must labour under great disadvantages, if destitute of that command over the diligence of its pupils, with which the power of giving or withholding these honours invests it. As the effects of this deficiency in the academy began to be experienced in the desertion of some of the best students, who sought in other seminaries that testimonial of their proficiency which was denied them in their own; it was recommended by the teachers to the board of trustees, that application should be made for such additions to their charter as might invest them with the rights of a collegiate body. The application was accordingly made; and an additional charter was granted by the proprietors, dated June 16th, 1755, by which the former style of the board was changed into that of "The Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia," and all the powers conferred upon them, which are usually attached to such a title. The condition, however, was annexed to this charter, that the trustees and professors, before entering on the performance of their offices, should respectively take and subscribe the customary oaths or affirmations of allegiance to the King of Great Britain.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE COLLEGE.—
FIRST GRADUATES.—PROSPERITY OF THE COLLEGE.

It may not be amiss to describe more particularly the organization and mode of government of the institution, at this period. It consisted of three departments, those of the college, academy, and charity schools, the last of which, however, was connected with the two former in no other way than as it was under the authority of the same board of trustees. The college and academy were much less distinct. They were not only connected through the medium of the trustees, but were managed by the same faculty of professors; and the students belonging to the two departments were often mingled together in the same classes. The distinction seems to have been simply this, that those pupils whose object was to go through a regular course of instruction, and ultimately receive the honour of graduation, were considered as members of the college; those who attended merely the English and mathematical schools, without pursuing classical or philosophical studies, as members of the Academy; and they were associated under the same teachers only when engaged in those subjects which were common to all. By this arrangement, while young men desirous of a liberal education, either as a preparation for entering upon one of the learned professions, or simply as an accomplishment, were provided with the means of attaining it, others, of humbler views, and with more limited resources, were enabled to acquire a degree of knowledge suitable to their future prospects. The plan

was well adapted to the condition of the country at a time, when schools, even of the inferior kind, were scarce, and it was desirable to effect much at as little expense as possible. At a subsequent period, however, this complexity of arrangement operated to the disadvantage of the higher branch of the seminary, both by taking away that unity of object, which in this, as well as all other pursuits, is essential to the greatest success, and by producing on the public mind an impression, that the whole institution was calculated rather for primary instruction than for completing the education of youth.

In the collegiate department was a grammar school, in which boys were taught the rudiments of the learned languages, previously to their entrance into the regular classes of the college. Of these classes there were only three, the freshman, junior, and senior; and the term of study was confined to the same number of years. Experience has shown that this period is too short for the attainment of the requisite knowledge by youth of ordinary abilities and industry; and, in the competition which afterward arose among the numerous colleges of this country, the arrangement was injurious to the interests of the school of Philadelphia. But, at first, no disadvantage was experienced, and, perhaps, the prospect of a speedy completion of the preparatory studies, tended to favour its success at a time, when it was necessary for young men to commence the business of life at as early a period as possible.

The college and academy were under the immediate direction of a faculty, composed of the professors, of whom the principal had the title of provost, and the second in authority, that of vice-provost and rector of the academy. The professors, five in number, were assisted, when necessary, by ushers, who were possessed of no authority in the government of the institution. The duties of the faculty, were to

meet, occasionally, and inquire into the condition of the schools, and conduct of the scholars; to see that the laws were observed, and the plans of education carried into effect; and, when any deficiency in the arrangements of the institution was observable, to propose such regulation for the sanction of the trustees, as they might deem likely to be conducive to its prosperity.

On the charitable foundation, there were two schools, one for boys, and another for girls, which were taught respectively by a master and mistress, with occasional assistants. The boys were instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic; the girls in reading, writing, and sewing. The schools were under the immediate care of the trustees, to whom applications for admittance were to be made. The number of charity scholars was seldom much short of one hundred.

The whole property and government of the institution were, by the charter, vested in the board of trustees, which retained its original constitution. In conferring the powers before mentioned upon the faculty of the college and academy, the trustees reserved to themselves the exclusive privileges of making laws; of appointing all the officers of the seminary; of inflicting on the students the severer punishments of degradation, suspension, and expulsion; of conferring the ordinary and honorary degrees; and finally, of deciding in all matters of high importance to the institution. But in every thing which related to the students, though, for fear of abuse, they thus reserved the power in their own hands, they generally decided according to the recommendation of the faculty, whose better opportunities of forming an accurate judgment entitled them to this deference.*

The first commencement of the college took place on the

* The names of the first trustees have been mentioned in a previous note. The following is a list of those who were subsequently elected members of the board, up to the period of its dissolution. They are given in the order

17th of May, 1757, when its honours were conferred on seven young men who had completed their education within its walls. The names of these earliest graduates were Paul Jackson, Jacob Duché, Francis Hopkinson,* Samuel Magaw, Hugh Williamson, James Latta, and John Morgan.

From this period, the institution rose rapidly in importance. The extent and liberality of its plan, conjoined with the excellence of its management, secured it the patronage of the neighbouring population; and it soon acquired a celebrity which attracted numerous students from the distant co-

of their election. It will be observed that the highest station, influence, and talent in the province, were secured in the government of the college.

Isaac Norris, Thomas Cadwalader, James Hamilton, Alexander Stedman, John Mifflin, Benjamin Chew, Edward Shippen, jr., William Coxe, Thomas Willing, Jacob Duché, jr., Lynford Lardner, Amos Strettell, Andrew Elliott, John Redman, John Penn, John Lawrence, John Allen, Isaac Jones, Richard Penn, Samuel Powell, Thomas Mifflin, William White, James Tilghman, Robert Morris, Francis Hopkinson, George Clymer, Alexander Wilcox, John Cadwalader, and James Wilson.

It has been mentioned that Dr. Franklin was the first president of the board. He was succeeded in that office by the Rev. Richard Peters, who was first elected in the year 1756, and was annually re-elected until the year 1764, when the state of his health rendering his absence from the country requisite, his place was supplied by the Hon. James Hamilton, then governor of the province. Mr. Hamilton having gone to England during the same year, the Hon. John Penn, who succeeded him as governor, was appointed to the presidency of the board. In the year 1771, Mr. Penn left the province, and Mr. Hamilton, having returned, was re-elected. At the time of the dissolution of the board, the Hon. Richard Penn, who followed Mr. Hamilton as governor, filled the office of its president.

* With regard to Mr. Hopkinson, the following is an extract from the minutes of the board of trustees, of May 20th, 1766. "It was resolved, that as Francis Hopkinson, Esq., who was the first scholar in this seminary at its opening, and likewise one of the first who received a degree, was about to embark for England, and has done honour to the place of his education by his abilities and good morals, as well as rendered it many substantial services on all public occasions, the thanks of this institution ought to be delivered to him, in the most affectionate and respectful manner."

lonies. From Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, it received much support; and even in the West Indies, many planters preferred it, for the education of their children, to the schools of England. Among the individuals who at various times received its honours, were many who afterwards attained great distinction in their professional, literary, or political career, and thus contributed to spread and exalt its reputation. Both in the advantages which it offered, and the actual support which it received, it was, perhaps, unrivalled, certainly not surpassed by any other seminary at that time existing in the provinces. Only two years after the charter was granted, the number of pupils in the institution amounted to about three hundred, one-third of whom were members of the collegiate department.* In the year 1763, according to a statement made by the provost, nearly four hundred individuals were receiving their education in the various branches of the seminary. To appreciate fully the prosperity to be implied from this extensive support, we must take into consideration the limited population and wealth of the country at that period, and must recollect that the colonies had just emerged from a long and cruel war, which had ravaged their borders, exhausted their resources, and even threatened the subversion of their liberties.

The students who came from a distance were, at first, on the same footing with those who resided permanently in the city. Boarding separately, wherever their own inclination, or that of their friends might prompt, they attended the schools during the regular hours, but, in the intervals, had the complete control of their own time and conduct.

* In a list of the pupils in the English school, made in the commencement of the year 1757, I observed the name of Lindley Murray, in all probability the same with that Lindley Murray who has acquired so much fame as the author of the best English Grammar, and who recently died in England.

Inconveniences were thought to arise from this arrangement, which led to the proposition, that a house should be built in the vicinity of the college, sufficiently large for the accommodation of the students from other provinces and the West Indies, where they might be more immediately beneath the eye of the professors, more convenient to the schools, and, at the same time, boarded at less expense than in private families. The trustees, to enable themselves to effect this purpose, without encroaching upon their capital, which was then very small, issued proposals for a lottery; by which, as the contemplated measure was generally approved, they succeeded, in a short time, in raising a sum exceeding two thousand pounds. This was immediately applied to the proposed object; and, in the year 1762, a suitable building was erected on a lot of ground belonging to the trustees, on the north side of the college, where it still stands. The lower story was appropriated to the charity schools, the remainder of the house to the reception of students, who were placed under the care of a steward,* and were subjected to such rules as were deemed necessary to maintain order, and promote their health, comfort, and morals. This plan, though not attended with all those advantages which had been anticipated, had been carried into effect at too great an expense of money and trouble to be hastily abandoned; and it appears to have been continued, till the operations of the college were suspended during the war of the revolution.

* Mr. Kinnersley, one of the professors, performed for many years the duties of steward.

CHAPTER III.

PROVOST AND PROFESSORS OF THE COLLEGE.

As the success of the institution was attributable more to the diligence and abilities of the professors, than, perhaps, to any other cause, we should be doing injustice to their deserts, as well as presenting a very incomplete view of the school itself, were we to pass over, without particular notice, the most prominent among the gentlemen who filled the collegiate chairs.

The first provost, the Rev. Dr. William Smith, was eminent for his various learning, and general ability. Many yet living can bear witness to his eloquence as a preacher; and his published works exhibit, in a very favourable light, his powers of composition. Born and educated in Great Britain, he emigrated to this country about the commencement of the year 1754, and soon after his arrival, was employed in the academy to teach those higher branches, which were at that time introduced into its course of studies. In the performance of this duty, he acquitted himself so well, and, in other respects, gave so much satisfaction to the trustees, that when the institution assumed the form of a college, he was unanimously chosen to fill the office of provost. Thus placed at the head of the seminary, he not only employed in its support the talents for teaching, with which he was eminently endowed; but also exerted himself, with much zeal and success, in enlarging its pecuniary resources. Though, for a

time, rendered unpopular with the predominant party, by interfering in those contentions between the legislature and the governors which formed the principal feature in the local politics of the province, he was yet enabled by his talents to command the respect of the public; and in Great Britain, such was the esteem in which he was held, that on a visit he was induced to make to that country, in the year 1759, to escape the resentment of the Pennsylvania legislature, he was received into the highest society, and, at the recommendation of the archbishop of Canterbury and several of the principal bishops, was honoured by the University of Oxford, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.* The circumstance which exposed him to the ill-will of a numerous party at home, secured him the favour of the proprietors and their friends; and by the influence which he possessed in England, he was enabled, at a subsequent period, very materially to promote the interests of the college. His exertions in its favour were indeed such as frequently called forth the decided approbation of the trustees; and though absent on several occasions, and at one time put under arrest by the legislature, his talents and influence were thought so essential to the prosperity of the school, that he was always maintained in his station, and teachers, when necessary, were temporarily employed to supply his place. On the occasion of his arrest, the classes under his care were directed to attend him at his place of confinement. As the events of Dr. Smith's life are intimately connected with the history of the institution over which he presided, we shall have more than one opportunity of again alluding to them, in the details which follow.

The office of vice-provost and rector of the academy, was occupied by the Rev. Dr. Francis Allison. This gentleman

* At a subsequent period the same honour was conferred on him by the universities of Aberdeen and Dublin.

had long been engaged in the business of instruction, and was among the first who established regular schools in the province. That he must have acquired considerable eminence as a teacher, is evinced by the fact, that at a time when honorary degrees were in much higher esteem than at present, that of Doctor of Divinity was spontaneously conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow. Before his election to the vice-provostship, he had for several years been attached to the academy as rector, and master of the Latin school.* As in the case of Dr. Smith, his election was unanimous; and the names of both these gentlemen, with their respective titles, were, by direction of the trustees, inserted in the charter of the college. Their duties, as professors, were to preside over the philosophical studies of the different classes, and Dr. Allison assisted also in teaching the languages. For more than twenty years they were the main supports of the institution, with which they remained connected up to the period of that change in its affairs which was brought about during the troubles of the revolution.

Of the other members of the faculty, the Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, professor of English and oratory, was perhaps the most conspicuous. Having been associated with Franklin in the prosecution of his investigations into the subject of electricity, he acquired a taste for that science, which induced him to procure a set of apparatus, calculated to exhibit an exemplification of its newly discovered principles, by varied and pleasing experiments. Thus provided, and at the time engaged in no other employment, he was prevailed on by Franklin to exhibit these experiments publicly, and to accompany them with explanatory lectures; the first, probably,

* The first rector of the academy was a Mr. Martin, who died very suddenly, soon after his appointment, and was succeeded by Dr. Allison, who then resided in Chester county, and was invited by the trustees to fill the vacant place.

which were delivered on a scientific subject in Philadelphia. The plan succeeded so much to his satisfaction, that he made a journey through most of the colonies, delivering his lectures in the capital towns, and even visited the West Indies on the same errand. In an article of the American Magazine for October, 1758, written, there is every reason to believe, by Dr. Smith, it is stated, that Mr. Kinnersley was "the chief inventor of the electrical apparatus, as well as author of a considerable part of those discoveries in electricity published by Mr. Franklin, to whom he communicated them. Indeed," the author of the paper goes on to say, "Mr. Franklin himself mentions his name with honour, though he has not been careful enough to distinguish between their particular discoveries. This, perhaps, he may have thought needless, as they were known to act in concert. But though that circumstance was known here, it was not so in the remote parts of the world to which the fame of these discoveries has extended." Coming, as this account probably does, from one so closely associated with the subject of it as the provost of the college must have been with one of the professors, it may be received as the statement of Mr. Kinnersley himself. It must, however, be confessed, that Franklin, in his memoirs, has admitted no claim of this or any other person to a participation in the discoveries which he made and announced; but merely states, that he resorted to the assistance of Mr. Kinnersley, as a neighbour and man of leisure, in the performance of his experiments. The electrical apparatus collected by Mr. Kinnersley must have been extensive; for after his death, it was purchased by the trustees of the college, according to a valuation made by impartial and well qualified judges, for the sum of five hundred pounds.* Mr. Kinnersley was introduced into the institution in the year 1753, as the successor of David James Dove, who was

* It is proper to state that this estimate was made during the revolution, at a period when the legal currency had very much depreciated.

the first teacher of the English school. In 1772, the state of his health rendering a voyage to a warm climate advisable, he resigned his station, after having performed its duties for the space of nineteen years.

The professorship of the languages was originally filled by Paul Jackson, who, in the year 1758, left the institution on account of ill health, and was succeeded by John Beveridge. This gentleman had, when young, taught a grammar school in Edinburgh, under the patronage of the celebrated Riddiman, from whom, as well as from other men of note, he brought with him to this country strong testimonials both of his ability and good conduct. When invited to connect himself with the Philadelphia college, he was residing at Hartford, in Connecticut, where he had for some time been conducting a private Latin school with great success. As a classical scholar he was thought to be inferior to none in the colonies. Some of his compositions in Latin are still extant in our older Magazines, and evince a familiarity with that language, which, with his long habit of teaching, must have well qualified him for his station in the college. Upon his death in 1767, James Davidson, who had previously kept a school in Newark, was appointed to the professorship.

Of the earliest mathematical professor, very little seems to be known. His name was Theophilus Grew, and it would appear, from a slight notice contained in an article of the American Magazine before alluded to, that he had "long been an approved teacher of mathematics and astronomy" in Philadelphia. He was attached to the institution at its origin, and continued so till his death in 1759. Hugh Williamson, a graduate of the school, succeeded to his station.

This brief account of the early professors, will not be thought misplaced by those who feel an interest in the spread of learning, science, and the arts of civilization in a young country, and are willing to do justice to those who made the promotion of this object the business of their lives.

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGIN OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

THOUGH the college of Philadelphia was later in its origin than some similar institutions in the older settlements, it may nevertheless boast the honour of having established a medical school, the first in point of time, as it has always been the greatest in merit and success of all upon this continent. It does not come within the design of the present sketch, to give even a very general account of the rise, progress, and ultimate prosperity of this department of the college, which of itself affords a subject so distinct and copious, as well to deserve a separate and minute consideration. We may, however, be allowed to notice a few circumstances, connected with the earliest period of its history.*

* The following extract of a letter from James Logan to Colonel Hunter, Governor of New York, dated 5th month 1st, 1717-18, contains the earliest account we have seen of a proposition to deliver medical lectures in Philadelphia. The individual referred to was Dr. Colden.

"All I know of that bill is only this. He came to me one day, to desire my opinion of a proposal to get an Act of Assembly for an allowance to him as physician for the poor of this place. I told him I thought very well of the thing, but doubted whether it could be brought to bear in the house. Not long after, K. Hill showed me a bill for this purpose, put into his hands by the governor, with two farther provisions in it, which were, that a public physical lecture should be held in Philadelphia, to the support of which every unmarried man, above the age of twenty-one years, should pay six shillings and eight-pence or an English crown yearly, and that the corpses of all persons whatever that died here, should be visited by an appointed physician who should receive for his trouble three shillings and four-pence. These things I owned were very commendable, but doubted our Assembly would never go into them, that of the lecture especially."

By a letter from Dr. William Shippen to the board of trustees, written in September, 1765, it appears that the institution of a medical school in this city, had long been a favourite object with him, and that in an introductory lecture to a course of anatomy, delivered three years previously to the date of the letter, he had publicly announced his belief in the expediency and practicability of the measure. Having, when in England, communicated his plan to Dr. John Morgan,* who was then prosecuting his medical studies in that country, he had resolved to postpone any attempt to carry it into effect, till the return of that gentleman should afford an opportunity of securing his co-operation. In the mean time, however, Dr. Morgan had interested in favour of the project several influential individuals in England; and it was proposed that a school of medicine should be engrafted on the Philadelphia college, the professors to be appointed, and the degrees to be conferred, as in the other department. Among those who exhibited the strongest interest in the affair were Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Peters, former presidents of the board, at that time residing in Great Britain, and Thomas Penn, the proprietary of Pennsylvania; from all of whom Dr. Morgan, on his return to Philadelphia, brought letters to the trustees, strongly advising the adoption of his plan, and recommending the Doctor himself to their choice, as one of the professors.† These letters were presented to the

* The gentlemen already mentioned among the first graduates of the college.

† The following is the letter from Mr. Penn, extracted from the minutes of the board of trustees.

“Dr. Morgan has laid before me a proposal for introducing new professorships into the college, for the instruction of all such as shall incline to go into the study and practice of physic and surgery, as well as the several occupations attending upon these necessary and useful arts. He thinks his scheme, if patronised by the trustees, will at present give reputation and

board at a special meeting, accompanied with a written proposal from Dr. Morgan, "setting forth his plan of opening medical schools under the patronage and government of the college, and intimating his desire to be appointed professor of the theory and practice of physic." The trustees approved the scheme, and "entertaining a high sense of Dr. Morgan's abilities, and the honours paid to him by different learned bodies and societies in Europe," unanimously appointed him to the office for which he applied. The date of this event, the 3d of May, 1765, is deserving of commemoration, as the birth day, in America, of that system of medical education, which has been carried to such high perfection, and has so

strength to the institution, and though it may for some time occasion a small expense, yet after a little while it will gradually support itself, and even make considerable additions to the academy funds."

"Dr. Morgan has employed his time in an assiduous search after knowledge, in all the branches necessary for the practice of his profession, and has gained such esteem and love from persons of the first rank in it, that as they very much approve his plan, they will from time to time, as he assures us, give him their countenance and assistance in the execution of it. We are made acquainted with what is proposed to be taught, and how lectures may be adopted by you, and since the like systems have brought much advantage to every plan where they have been received, and such learned and eminent men speak favourably of the Doctor's plan, I could not but in the most kind manner recommend him to you, and desire that he may be well received, and what he has to offer be taken, with all becoming respect and expedition, into your most serious consideration; and if it shall be thought necessary to go into it, and thereupon to offer professorships, that he may be taken into your service."

"When you have heard him, and duly considered what he has to lay before you, you will be best able to judge in what manner you can serve the public, the institution, and the particular design now recommended to you.

I am, gentleman,

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS PENN."

London, February 15th, 1765.

It will be perceived that this system differs materially from that now in operation; and the modern has, in several respects, a decided advantage. Perhaps it would have been well to preserve that regulation, which demanded a previous knowledge of the Latin language, the neglect of which is too common among medical students of the present day.

The first medical commencement was held on the 21st of June, 1768, when the following gentlemen received their bachelor's degree:—John Archer of Newcastle county, Benjamin Cowell of Bucks, Samuel Duffield and Jonathan Potts of Philadelphia, Jonathan Elmer of N. Jersey, Humphrey Fullerton of Lancaster county, David Jackson of Chester county, John Lawrence of E. Jersey, James Tilton of Kent county on Delaware, and Nicholas Way of Wilmington.

Such was the origin of a school, which, by the talents and industry of its successive teachers, has attained a station little inferior to that of the most celebrated in Europe; which has for a long time diffused medical knowledge, in copious streams, over the whole of this widely extended country, and given birth to numerous similar institutions, emulous of their parent school in honour and usefulness; which, while it affords to its officers a dignity in rank and an affluence in subsistence beyond any other private association on the continent, at the same time imparts to the city in which it is located, a degree of prosperity and reputation which the most sanguine of its founders never ventured to anticipate from its operations.

CHAPTER V.

FINANCES OF THE COLLEGE.

OUR view' of the college would be incomplete without some account of its financial concerns. The original fund with which the trustees ventured on their undertaking was the sum of two thousand pounds, payable in five annual instalments, subscribed by the individual members of the board. To this sum a very considerable addition was soon made by subscriptions, on the same terms, obtained among the inhabitants of the city; and the resources of the institution were afterwards augmented by donations* and legacies, by public collections in churchest and at the commencements, and by the proceeds of lotteries. † From these various sources, in the

* I observed in the minutes of the board, an acknowledgment of the receipt of one hundred pounds from "a company of comedians," being the profits of a play which they had represented for the benefit of the free school. The collection of so considerable a sum, on such an occasion, is a singular evidence either of the charity, or of the play-going propensities of those times. It seems that this mode of increasing their revenue did not meet with the unanimous approbation of the trustees, for it is stated in the minutes that a *majority* were in favour of receiving the donation.

† The sermons of Whitfield were most productive. One which he preached at the request of the trustees, for the benefit of the charity schools, and for which they returned him their "sincere and hearty thanks," yielded more than one hundred pounds.

‡ Considerable opposition was made to this mode of raising money; and, at one time, a law was passed prohibiting lotteries altogether: but it was

course of twelve years from the first establishment of the academy, the amount derived was not less than seven thousand pounds sterling; and if to this be added the profits of tuition, and benefactions from the proprietors in money and land, to the value of at least three thousand pounds, received during the same period, there will appear to have been no deficiency of funds for carrying the designs of the founders of the seminary into full effect. Of the donations from the proprietors, five hundred pounds accompanied their grant of the first charter, and nearly three thousand acres of land, situated in Bucks county, being the fourth part of the manor of Perkasia, were conveyed to the trustees by Thos. Penn, on the condition that, if the institution should fail of success, the land should revert to himself or his heirs. The fee simple of this land was, at a subsequent period, vested in the trustees, and the farms into which it was divided were sold upon mortgage; but as the conditions of the sale were not complied with, the greater number of them have reverted to the institution, and now constitute a part of the real estate of the University of Pennsylvania.

Though the resources of the college were amply sufficient to meet all the immediate demands upon them, and, at the end of twelve years, a considerable surplus remained in the hands of the trustees, beside the clear possession of the college ground and buildings, yet, as the interest accruing from this surplus, even with the addition of the receipts for tuition, would by no means be adequate to the proper support of the school, which would, therefore, still be left dependent upon the precarious supplies of private contributions and lotteries, it was thought advisable to look about for some means of pro-

soon afterwards repealed. Six or seven lotteries were at various times set on foot for the benefit of the institution; from two of which, upwards of four thousand pounds, currency, were collected.

curing such a sum of money, as, when united to that already possessed, and constituted into a permanent fund, might yield a fixed and certain income, adequate to all the wants of the institution. Too much had already been contributed by the citizens to justify an expectation that this object would be accomplished by a further appeal to their public spirit; and the legislature of the province wanted either the ability or inclination to yield any assistance. The attention of the trustees was, therefore, directed abroad; and as Dr. Smith, on his return from Europe, had reported that many of the best and most influential personages in England were favourably disposed to the institution, it was determined to seek, from the liberality of the mother country, those supplies which were not to be obtained in the colonies. The numerous and highly respectable acquaintance which the provost had formed, and the esteem in which he was held in Great Britain, naturally designated him as the most suitable person to act as the representative of the trustees on this occasion; and they accordingly requested him to undertake, in that capacity, another voyage across the Atlantic, promising the payment of all his expenses, and the continuance, during his absence, of the salary attached to the provostship. Dr. Smith cheerfully complied with the request; and, being furnished with the proper written power, sailed for England, where he arrived early in the year 1762. Persons of very high station and authority became interested in the success of his mission; and it was recommended, in order that the application from the trustees might come with greater weight, and the charity be rendered more universal, that a royal brief should be obtained, authorizing a collection to be made throughout the kingdom. Some embarrassment, however, was at first experienced in consequence of a similar application from the college of N. York, which, it was feared, if urged in opposition to that from Philadelphia, would mate-

rially interfere with its success, and, by the disgust which such rivalry is apt to excite, would operate greatly to the disadvantage of both schools. To remedy this inconvenience, Dr. Smith was induced, by the advice of his friends, to unite with Dr. Jay, the agent from New York, in a joint application, agreeing to share with him equally all the advantages which might result. An event very favourable to their purpose was at this juncture offered in the birth of a prince; and to his present majesty, George the Fourth, is perhaps, in some measure, owing the favour which their project experienced from his royal father. On so joyful an occasion, the king and his council could not refuse their countenance to a work of benevolence; and not only was a brief, as ample in the powers it conferred as they could desire, procured, but his majesty was pleased to give them also the influence of his example by himself becoming a contributor. The agents were not backward in availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them; and their success was even superior to their expectations. Dividing the country between them, they travelled throughout England; visited many parts of Scotland and Ireland; and where they could not themselves be present, employed the services of friends, and endeavoured to make a favourable impression by the distribution of circular letters, setting forth the nature of the charity, and strongly urging its claims upon the favour of the benevolent. Dr. Smith was especially remarked for his indefatigable exertion and skilful management. So highly, indeed, were his services appreciated by the trustees, that they not only took every opportunity of conveying to him the strongest expression of their approbation and confidence, but, on his return, received him, at a meeting of the board called for that special purpose, with the highest marks of satisfaction and respect, and unanimously voted him their thanks for the "great zeal, diligence, ability, and address which he had

shown in the management of this collection." At a subsequent meeting, they gave him a still stronger testimony of their consideration in the grant of one hundred pounds a-year, which was to be considered, "not as an addition to the salary of provost, but solely as a reward for his personal services in England." The individuals in Great Britain who most interested themselves in this affair of the two colleges, and whose influence, both in obtaining the brief, and afterwards in promoting the collection, was of most importance, were the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of the English church; the Rev. Dr. Chandler, who was considered at the head of the dissenting interest; and Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietors of the province, who themselves contributed five hundred pounds. To these gentlemen letters had been originally written by the trustees, requesting their aid; and their exertions, particularly those of the archbishop and of Dr. Chandler were the more praiseworthy, as it was expressly understood that the objects of the college were not to promote any sectarian interests, but that its doors were open indiscriminately to individuals of every religious persuasion, whether in the capacity of officers, or of students. The collection was completed by the end of the year 1763, and the share of it which fell to the Philadelphia college amounted to more than six thousand pounds sterling. According to the original intention of the trustees, this sum was considered as a permanent fund, of which the interest only was to be applied to the purposes of the college; and the different portions of it, as they were received, were immediately invested in the best securities, generally in mortgages accompanied with a bond and judgment.

The finances of the college might now be considered in a good condition; as the income from its real estate and other investments, united with the money for tuition, and the casual receipts from various sources, were sufficient for its support.

No further efforts, therefore, were for some time made to augment its permanent fund; but as it was highly desirable that the institution should be wholly independent of precarious supplies, and some inconvenience was occasionally experienced from the emptiness of the treasury, the trustees, about ten years after their application to the British nation, resolved to set on foot another subscription in the colonies. Their first attempt was made in South Carolina, where the college was well known, and many wealthy individuals were supposed to be willing to contribute liberally towards its maintenance. Nor were their expectations disappointed. During a short visit which Dr. Smith was induced, at the request of the board, to make to Charleston, in the winter of 1771-2, he succeeded, without much difficulty, in procuring a large subscription, from which upwards of one thousand pounds sterling were ultimately realized. In the following spring, a proposition was made to institute a collection in the West Indies; and Dr. Morgan, one of the medical professors, having expressed a willingness to undertake the business, received from the board the necessary authority, and soon afterwards sailed for Jamaica. In this island alone, to which, on account of great losses sustained by a severe hurricane in other parts of the English West Indies, he was directed to confine his exertions, the subscriptions amounted to six thousand pounds, of the Jamaica currency. How much of this was actually collected, I have not been able to ascertain. A large portion of it was probably lost, in consequence of the confusion in which the affairs of the colonies were subsequently involved. It appears, however, from the minutes, that when Dr. Morgan gave in his accounts, towards the end of the year 1773, an amount equal to at least two thousand pounds sterling had been received, and the profits of his voyage, at the lowest calculation, may be stated at this sum. Beside the contributions from Carolina, and the West Indies,

a very considerable sum was subscribed in Philadelphia and the neighbourhood; so that there was every reason to expect, that the permanent income of the college would, for the future, be amply sufficient to defray all its necessary expenses.

But the troubles of the revolutionary war, which now broke out, very materially impaired its resources. One of the first effects of this contest upon the institution was a diminution in the number of students, and a consequent falling off, to an equal extent, of the receipts for tuition. In the spring of 1779, there were only about twenty members of the college classes, and eighty boys belonging to the grammar school and academy; and, at a previous period of the revolution, the numbers had been still less. The income of the college was also greatly diminished by the compelled receipt of depreciated paper in payment of rent and interest; and much loss of capital was experienced, in consequence of the discharge, in the same paper, of the bonds and mortgages in which a great portion of the funds was invested. At the same time that the resources were thus impaired, an enormous advance in the price of almost every necessary, rendered an augmentation of the salaries of the teachers indispensable, and thus very greatly increased the expenses. To such an extent was this the case, that at the opening of the schools, after a temporary suspension arising from the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army, it was found absolutely necessary to double all the salaries, in order that the professors might obtain a livelihood.

To compensate, in some measure, for this reduction of receipts and increase of expenditure, it was resolved, soon after the resumption of the duties of the college, in the fall of 1778, to make one more application to the citizens for aid. From a report made to the legislature, in the succeeding year, relative to the state of the schools, it appears, that this application resulted in the subscription of

twelve hundred pounds, currency, to be paid annually for three years. From the same report it also appears, that the property of the college, at that time, consisted, 1. of the lots and buildings in Fourth Street, including the academy, the boarding-house to the north of it, and four dwelling-houses in the immediate vicinity;—2. of a farm and mills at Norristown, containing five hundred and seventy-two acres, purchased with the money received in discharge of bonds and mortgages formerly held by the trustees;—3. of the Perkasio lands in Bucks county, presented by Thomas Penn, and containing nearly three thousand acres;—and 4. of moneys placed out at interest, amounting to somewhat more than five thousand pounds. The whole income from this estate, independently of the college building, and of two dwelling-houses occupied by professors, amounted only to six hundred and seventy pounds, together with five hundred bushels of wheat, or its value in currency, the latter item being the rent of the mills and farm at Norristown. The entire inadequacy of this income to the demands made upon it, will be rendered obvious by the simple statement, that the salary of the provost alone, over and above the rent of the house in which he lived, was, at the period of the report, not less than seven hundred pounds, and was soon afterwards increased to fourteen hundred pounds, which, in consequence of the depreciation of the currency, and the rise in the price of necessaries, was considered no more than equal to one quarter of that sum before the revolution. It will be perceived, hereafter, that the poverty of the college was made a pretext by the legislature for interfering in its concerns, and was one of the ostensible causes of a complete revolution in its affairs.

Before speaking of those proceedings of the legislature which led to this result, and which constitute a new era in the history of the institution, it will not be deemed irrele-

vant to give a brief statement of the salaries of the officers, and the cost of tuition at different periods, from its origin to this time. Such statements are interesting; as they enter into our means of estimating the character of particular periods of history, and in some measure enable us, by comparing the past with the present, to judge of the progress or decline of society.

When the academy first went into operation, the rector received a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds, Pennsylvania currency, which on the appointment of Dr. Allison was augmented to two hundred pounds; and the salary of Dr. Smith, when chosen provost of the college, was fixed at the same sum. The other professors received from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty pounds each, and the ushers, from sixty to seventy pounds. It would appear that these sums, small as they would now be considered, were in those economical times sufficient for the decent support of the teachers: for they remained without increase for several years; and there were few instances of resignation of office, on the ground of inadequate compensation. By the year 1761, however, an advance seems to have taken place in the cost of living, which rendered an augmentation of the salaries necessary. That of the provost was accordingly raised to two hundred and fifty pounds, and the others in nearly the same proportion. It has already been stated, that Dr. Smith, after completing the collection in Great Britain, received from the trustees, as a reward for his services, the gratuity of one hundred pounds annually, independent of his salary; so that his income from the college now amounted to three hundred and fifty pounds. In a letter, however, written to the board, in the year 1774, he states, that, on account of "the advanced price of necessaries, and the growing expense of a growing family," he finds it impossible, with all decent attention to frugality, to make this sum answer for his support; and,

in a modest way, reminding the trustees of his services to the institution, he requests them to provide him with a house, and promises, whatever may happen in the future, to make no farther demand upon them. His request was unanimously complied with; and a spacious mansion was erected on the college grounds, in which he continued to reside till the college itself passed into other hands.* The example of the provost was soon followed by the other professors; and most of them obtained the right of a dwelling in addition to their salary. The effect of the depreciation of the currency, and of the increased expense of living, during the revolutionary war, upon the nominal amount of the salaries, has been already noticed.

The cost of tuition for the students of the college was originally four pounds a-year, with the addition of six shillings for fire-wood, and an entrance fee of twenty shillings. The expense of graduation was four pounds. In the year 1757, an attempt was made to raise the price of tuition to ten pounds per annum; but as other colleges continued to retain the lower rate, the attempt proved unsuccessful, and the old price was resumed. The charge for boarding, in the college buildings, was twenty-five pounds fifteen shillings a-year; so that, for the very moderate annual sum of about thirty pounds or eighty dollars, a young man might, at that period, receive his support in the first city, and his education in one of the highest seminaries of English America. During the revolution it was found necessary, from the same causes which induced an increase in the salaries of the professors, to raise the price of tuition first to twelve, and afterwards to twenty pounds a-year.

* The house erected for Dr. Smith, was that large building which still stands at the south-west corner of Fourth and Mulberry Streets. All the ground and dwelling-houses, situated between this and the academy, were the property of the college.

CHAPTER VI.

ABROGATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE COLLEGE BY THE
PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE.

I HAVE before alluded to the suspension of the duties of the college, in consequence of the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army, and to their resumption immediately after the city was evacuated. The schools were closed in the month of June, 1777, and were again opened in September of the following year. The institution, however, had been but a short time in renewed operation, when it experienced, in the disposition of the prevailing political party and of their representatives in the legislature, an hostility much more injurious to its interests than the presence of the enemy. The causes of this hostility it is difficult, at the present time, exactly to understand. The provost, who, from his long and very important services, and the success with which his exertions had been attended, was, in the public estimation, almost identified with the school itself, had, by his attachment to the proprietors, in their former disputes with the legislature, rendered himself highly unpopular with a numerous party before the war; and his foreign birth, his clerical office in the English church, the honours he had received from the loyal university of Oxford, and the favour in which he stood with men of high station in Great Britain, were circumstances which, as they might naturally give his partialities a direction towards the mother country, tended

no doubt, at the commencement of the revolution, to increase the enmity of those who were attached to the cause of independence. Among the trustees of the college, also, were many who were known to be unfavourable to the new order of things, some of whom indeed had left the country and openly joined the enemy. When to these considerations we add the fact, that the institution had been fostered by English liberality, had been largely endowed by the proprietors, and had even enjoyed the smiles of the king, while from the legislature of the colony it had experienced only neglect, we can feel no surprise that it should have been suspected of a strong attachment to the royal interest, and therefore regarded by many with feelings of unkindness and distrust.

But whatever may have been the inclinations of those in whom the direction of its affairs resided, no public act had been committed which could afford ground for offence. On the contrary, care was taken to cultivate the good will of the new authorities; and at the commencement which succeeded the first assemblage of the continental congress in Philadelphia, the delegates, by the invitation of the trustees, proceeded in a body from the State House to the college, and thus gave it a strong testimony of their approval.

To guard still further against the effects of that political excitement which, there was reason to fear, might be directed fatally against the institution, it had been provided by those interested in its favour, that the sanction of positive law should be brought in aid of its other claims to the respect at least, if not to the support of the citizens. In the summer of 1776, while the convention of Pennsylvania was engaged in framing a constitution for the government of the commonwealth, Dr. Smith, having assembled at his house a few gentlemen connected with corporate bodies, proposed that they should endeavour to procure the insertion in the constitution

of an article, securing the inviolability of chartered rights. Such an article, drawn up by Dr. Smith, was approved by the meeting; and Dr. Franklin, who was present, undertook to procure its adoption by the convention, over which body he presided, and in the councils of which he was known to possess considerable influence. Hence originated that clause of the constitution of 1776, which secured to all societies "incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning, or for other pious or charitable purposes," the enjoyment of those rights and privileges of which they were possessed under the former laws of the commonwealth. But, to use the language of the venerable Bishop White, who was one of the gentlemen assembled at Dr. Smith's, and from whom the above account was derived, "the event showed of what little effect are provisions put on paper, when they interfere with the views of a dominant party in politics."

The first symptom of any disposition in the public authorities to interfere in the concerns of the college, was exhibited in a vote of the general assembly, in the month of February, 1779, directing an inquiry into the rise, design, and condition of the institution, and appointing a committee for this purpose, with the customary powers to send for persons and papers. In answer to questions proposed by this committee, a long paper was, at the desire of the board, drawn up by Dr. Smith, which was inserted in the minutes, and contains an ample account of the origin of the school, the motives and principles of its establishment, the success which had attended its efforts, and the state of its affairs at the time of the investigation. From this paper many of the details of the present history have been derived; and it will be readily judged, by those who may have perused the preceding statements, that nothing but a predetermined resolution to admit of no justification would have resisted the plain evidence of the facts which it advanced in favour of the college. Nor is it impossible that some impression may have been

produced by it upon the minds of the members of assembly; for either on this account, or from the press of more important business, an adjournment of the legislature took place, without any decision on the subject. But the fate of the institution was only postponed for a few months. At the opening of the next session, in the month of September, its affairs were again brought before the legislature in the message of Mr. Reed, president of the executive council. The obligation of the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain exacted by the charter; an indisposition on the part of the trustees to seek the aid of the new government for an establishment consistent with the principles of the revolution; and a general inattention, in the management of the school, to the interests of this government, were alleged in the message as reasonable grounds for legislative interference; and the lawfulness of such interference was maintained upon the principle, that, in the revolution of states, it becomes not only allowable, but necessary, so to modify pre-existing corporations, whether civil, literary, or religious, as to bring them into harmony with the new political arrangements.

Unfortunately for the college, Dr. Franklin, who was one of its most influential trustees, was now absent in Europe; and the activity of its enemies, which might have been restrained by his presence and authority, was allowed full scope to display itself. The assembly seems not to have required the instigation of the president to sharpen its animosity, or to invigorate its proceedings; for with a precipitation unusual in a matter so important and so little requiring haste, a law was enacted, abrogating in fact the former charters granted by the proprietors, and removing from their offices in the institution, the trustees, provost, vice-provost, professors, and all others attached to it by any tie of authority or dependence. It is true that a preparatory committee was appointed; and, when the charges were brought before the

house, the trustees were allowed to appear by council in their defence: but the committee seems to have been chosen rather to search for matter of accusation than to investigate the truth; and it was but a show of justice to hear the representations of the accused, when the resolution was already firmly taken to disregard them.

The charges brought forward by the committee in their report, from which two out of their number were sufficiently conscientious to express their dissent, were chiefly the following:—that an oath of allegiance to the British government was, by the charter, a necessary prerequisite to any official act; that several of the trustees, having joined the British army, stood attainted as traitors, and others had not, by taking the test, qualified themselves legally to fulfil the duties of their office; that the corporation had shown in its conduct an evident hostility to the government and constitution of the state; that its funds were utterly inadequate to the proper support of a seminary of learning; and, finally, that the original and fundamental principle of the college, by which it was bound to afford perfect equality of privileges to all religious denominations, had not been fully maintained.

The frivolity of these charges will be rendered evident by the slightest examination. The oath of allegiance demanded by the charter was abrogated by the revolution, with all other oaths which connected the provinces with the mother country. The political conduct and opinions of individual members of the board could operate only to their own disfranchisement, not to the injury of those who remained, nor to the destruction of the corporate rights of the whole body. The alleged hostility of the corporation to the government and constitution of the state was a matter altogether of feeling, and could not be proved by any public or private act of the body accused. A careful examination of the minutes of the board will on the contrary evince, that care was taken to

avoid all political interference; and submission to the laws enacted by the new government should have been accepted as a sufficient evidence of allegiance, without an invidious and inquisitorial examination into private feeling and opinion. The inadequacy of the funds to the proper support of the school, though an excellent reason for legislative assistance, certainly afforded no excuse for taking away the little of which it was already in possession. The last accusation, that of religious partiality, was the most serious; as it involved a violation of the fundamental laws of the institution, an evident departure from the intention of the founders, and an infringement of those conditions upon which the contributions of the benevolent had at different periods been so largely obtained. Accordingly, this was the only charge which the legislature thought proper to countenance by adoption into the preamble of their act; and upon this, together with their general right of controlling the operation of seminaries of learning, derived from their beneficial or injurious influence, according as they are well or ill conducted, over the peace and welfare of society, they grounded their proceedings in the present case.

The following are the first two sections of the act:—

“ *Whereas* the education of youth has ever been found to be of the most essential consequence, as well to the good government of states, and the peace and welfare of society, as to the profit and ornament of individuals, insomuch that from the experience of all ages, it appears that seminaries of learning, when properly conducted, have been public blessings to mankind, and that on the contrary, when in the hands of dangerous and disaffected men, they have troubled the peace of society, shaken the government, and often caused tumult, sedition, and bloodshed: *And whereas* the college, academy, and charitable school of the city of Philadelphia, were at first founded on a plan of free and unlimited catholicism; but

it appears that the trustees thereof, by a vote or by-law of their board, bearing date the *14th day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four*, have departed from the plan of the original founders, and narrowed the foundation of the said institution. *Be it therefore enacted, &c.*"

Now from an examination of the minutes of the board of trustees on the day referred to, so far from discovering any vote or resolve which, by the severest construction, would give the least countenance to this charge of "narrowing the foundation" of the college, we find abundant evidence of a determination on the part of the board to "adhere strictly to the faith pledged to all religious denominations."

Dr. Smith, on his return from England, after having completed the great collection in that country, brought with him a letter to the board, signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the proprietors of Pennsylvania, and by Dr. Chandler, the object of which was to represent to the trustees the propriety of adopting "a fundamental rule or declaration," binding themselves to preserve inviolate the original broad and liberal plan of the seminary, and thus preventing those unpleasant jealousies and contentions, which could not but spring from a suspicion of undue partiality to any one religious sect.* The sentiments of the letter were approved by

* The following is the letter alluded to:—

To the trustees of the college, &c. of Philadelphia.

Gentlemen,—We cannot omit the opportunity which Dr. Smith's return to Philadelphia gives us of congratulating you on the great success of the collection which he came to pursue, and of acknowledging your obliging addresses of thanks to us for the share we had in recommending and encouraging this design. Such a mark of your attention to us will, we doubt not, excuse our hinting to you what we think may be further necessary to a due improvement of this collection, and the future prosperity of the institution under your care.

This institution you have professed to have been originally founded and

the board, and a declaration of the nature desired having been drawn up and inserted in the minute book, was signed not only by all those who at that time filled the office of trustee, but afterwards, in compliance with a clause of the declaration itself, by every new trustee after his election, and before he could be admitted to a seat at the board.* In their answer to the archbishop, copied into the minutes of *June 14th, 1764*, the trustees, after expressing their thanks for

hitherto carried on for the general benefit of a mixed body of people. In his majesty's royal brief, it is represented as a seminary that would be of great use "for raising up able instructors and teachers, as well for the service of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, as for other protestant denominations in the colonies."

At the time of granting this collection, which was solicited by the provost, who is a clergyman of the church of England, it was known that there were united with him a vice-provost who is a Presbyterian, and a principal professor of the Baptist persuasion, with sundry inferior professors and tutors, all carrying on the education of youth with great harmony: and people of various denominations have hereupon contributed liberally and freely.

But jealousies now arising lest this foundation should afterwards be narrowed, and some party endeavour to exclude the rest, or put them on a worse footing than they have been from the beginning, or were at the time of this collection, which might not only be deemed unjust in itself, but might likewise be productive of contentions unfriendly to learning and hurtful to religion; we would therefore recommend it to you, to make some fundamental rule or declaration to prevent inconveniences of this kind; in doing of which, the more closely you keep in view the plan on which the seminary was at the time of obtaining the royal brief, and on which it has been carried on from the beginning, so much the less cause we think you will give for any party to be dissatisfied.

Wishing continual prosperity and peace to the institution, we are, with great regard, &c. &c.

THOMAS, CANT.

THOMAS and RICHARD PENN.

SAMUEL CHANDLER.

LONDON, April 9th, 1764.

* This document is interesting, both as it disproves the charge of religious partiality, and as it presents, in the signatures affixed to it, a complete list of the trustees at the time of its insertion in the minutes, and of those who afterwards became trustees, with the date of their election, down to the pe-

his attention to the prosperity of their school, and announcing their compliance with his advice, take occasion to observe, that they should always evince towards the national church every mark of regard consistent with their faith pledged to other religious denominations, and with that plan of Christian liberty upon which the institution was founded. A similar sentiment is expressed in their letters to Dr. Chandler and the proprietors, also copied into the minutes of June 14th; and in no other part of the minutes of that date, except in the joint letter and document above alluded to, is any reference whatever made to difference of religious persuasion. Upon the passages here referred to, the legislature must have rested their accusation; and a more striking instance could hardly be offered of that blindness and perversion of judgment to which the best men are liable, when under the influence of violent political excitement.

riod when the college was finally incorporated with the University. It is as follows:—

“The trustees being ever desirous to promote the peace and prosperity of this seminary, and to give satisfaction to all its worthy benefactors, have taken the above letter into their serious consideration, and perfectly approving the sentiments therein contained, do order the same to be inserted in their books, that it may remain perpetually declaratory of the present wide and excellent plan of this institution, which hath not only met with the approbation of the great and worthy personages above mentioned, but even the royal sanction of his majesty himself. They further declare that they will keep this plan closely in their view, and use their utmost endeavours that the same be not narrowed, nor the members of the church of England, or those dissenting from them (in any future election to the principal offices mentioned in the aforesaid letter) be put on any worse footing in this seminary than they were at the time of obtaining the royal brief. They subscribe this with their names, and ordain that the same be read and subscribed by every new trustee that shall hereafter be elected, before he takes his seat at the board.”

RICHARD PETERS, President, &c.

It should be observed that the joint letter referred to, and this document, are both inserted in the minutes of June 14th, 1764, the date alluded to in the preamble of the law.

But even admitting that the legislature might have had cause of dissatisfaction in the management of the seminary; admitting also that, during the struggles of a great revolution, the government has a right to modify pre-existing chartered institutions, so as to bring them into perfect harmony with the new order of affairs; yet, in the present case, the right to such interference was expressly denied by the very instrument by which the government itself was created, and continued to hold its existence. The constitution of 1776 was then the supreme law of the land; and in this constitution a clause had been inserted with the express purpose of affording protection to the college, and other literary and religious corporations in the state. The tribunals of justice were open to the government as well as to individuals, and for any illegal proceedings the trustees might have been prosecuted in the regular way, with a certainty of conviction. The mode adopted by the legislature evinced their sense of the weakness of their cause; and their decision, so far as we have the means at present of forming a judgment, was accordant rather with the spirit of despotism, than with that justice and moderation which should characterize the representatives of a free people.

CHAPTER VII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

THE enmity which had thus triumphed over the authorities of the college, was not extended to the objects for which it had been established. On the contrary, having transferred the rights and property vested in the former trustees into more friendly hands, the legislature took the institution into favour, endowed it with lands out of the confiscated estates to the annual value of fifteen hundred pounds, and by the right of adoption, conferred upon it the new and more lofty title of University of Pennsylvania. The board appointed by the act of assembly consisted of three distinct sets of individuals. The first was composed of certain members of the government who possessed a seat at the board in virtue of their several offices; the second, of the "senior ministers in standing" of the six principal sects in Philadelphia; and the third, of individuals selected for their attachment to the revolution, which, in most of them, was evinced by the possession of high public stations in the commonwealth.* By

* The following is a list of the members of the board.—

Of the first division—those, namely, who held their places by virtue of their offices under the commonwealth, were

1. The president of the supreme executive council—Joseph Reed;
2. The vice-president of the council—William Moore;
3. The speaker of the general assembly—John Bayard;
4. The chief justice of the supreme court—Thomas M'Kean;
5. The judge of the admiralty—Francis Hopkinson;

these appointments, it will be perceived that the legislature fully provided for the political fidelity of the University, and its perfect impartiality towards all religious denominations; and these ends were still more firmly secured by the reservation of the right, within six months after the choice of any new trustee, to disapprove and annul the election. Whether the real interest of the institution was consulted by placing it in the hands of men, whose public engagements might be supposed sufficient to occupy their whole attention, was a question which could not be readily answered, and was perhaps considered of secondary importance.

The new trustees met for the first time in December 1779, and having taken the oath or affirmation at that time prescribed by law, organized themselves into a board, and appointed his excellency, Joseph Reed, their president. However dissatisfied with the late decision, the former authorities of the college did not venture to resist the will of the government, and quietly resigned their property to their ap-

6. The attorney general—Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant.

The second division consisted of

1. The senior minister of the Episcopal churches—Rev. Wm. White;
2. The senior minister of the Presbyterian churches—Rev. John Ewing;
3. The senior minister of the Lutheran churches—Rev. John Christopher Kunze;
4. The senior minister of the German Calvinist churches—Rev. Casparus Weiberg;
5. The senior minister of the Baptist churches ———;
6. The senior minister of the Roman churches—Rev. Ferdinand Farmer.

The gentlemen composing the third division were Dr. Franklin, then minister at Paris; William Shippen, Frederick Muhlenberg, and James Searle, delegates from Pennsylvania in the congress of the United States; William Augustus Adlee, and John Evans, judges of the supreme court; Timothy Matlack, secretary of the supreme executive council; David Rittenhouse, treasurer of the state; Jonathan Bayard Smith; Samuel Morris; George Bryan; Dr. Thomas Eond; and Dr. James Hutchinson.

pointed successors. Steps were immediately taken to arrange the affairs of the school, and to select suitable individuals to fill the vacant offices. The Rev. Dr. John Ewing, a trustee by right of his station in the Presbyterian church, was chosen provost. David Rittenhouse, the distinguished astronomer, also a trustee, was made a professor, with the title of vice-provost. The professorship of the languages was conferred upon the Rev. Robert Davidson, and that of mathematics upon James Cannon, who had been previously employed in the college. James Davidson, who had succeeded Mr. Beveridge as teacher of the Latin and Greek languages, and had been connected with the late institution for more than ten years, was appointed rector of the academy, with an authority independent of the collegiate faculty. A German school was added to the other branches of the seminary; and the Rev. Mr. Kunze gave up his office as one of the trustees, in order to accept the direction of this department. In the course, however, of a very few years, many changes were made. Mr. Rittenhouse, resigning the vice-provostship, was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Magaw;* James Davidson was made professor of the languages in the place of the Rev. Robert Davidson, who left the institution; and Robert Patterson, who had before been employed in a subordinate station, was appointed, as the successor of Mr. Cannon, to the chair of mathematics.

Much difficulty was experienced in organizing a medical faculty. For more than three years there was a constant succession of appointments and resignations; and it was not till the autumn of 1783 that the affair was ultimately settled by the reinstatement of the former professors in the respective stations which they had held in the college.

Among the incidents in the history of the university, it

*The same Samuel Magaw, I suspect, who was mentioned in the list of the first graduates of the college.

would be improper to pass over, without notice, an evidence of the kindness with which this country and its institutions were regarded by the government of France. In July, 1784, a letter was received by the board of trustees from the Marquis de Chattaleau, requesting their acceptance of a collection of valuable books as a present from his most Christian Majesty, made at the instance of the Count de Vergennes and himself. It is unnecessary to say that this mark of royal favour was received with due respect, and answered with a profession of their grateful sense of the honour conferred upon them. Even republicans are wont to attach a fictitious value to the favours of monarchs; and, in the present case, the munificence of the gift is still further enhanced by the associations which our memory forms of its royal author with the independence of our country and his own unmerited misfortunes.

The success of the university was by no means adequate to the expectations, which the patronage of the legislature and its own advantages of situation were calculated to excite. It is true that the inferior schools were generally well attended; but the college classes were small, and the graduates few; and at no period could it boast of a prosperity equal to that which the college had at one time enjoyed. This deficiency of support was undoubtedly in part attributable to the political condition of the country, and to the competition of new seminaries; but other causes quite as influential were to be found in circumstances especially belonging to the university itself. The trustees, chosen principally in consequence of their public stations, not from any peculiar fitness for the office, or attachment to its duties, could not be expected to manifest that minute attention and vigilant care which had characterized their predecessors, whose long connexion with the college had almost identified its interests with their own. The consequences of this want of vigilance

in the board were evident, as well in the uncertain and fluctuating measures which were adopted, as in the condition of the financial concerns, which even the liberal grant of the legislature did not preserve from embarrassment. With the teachers, the unsettled state of their accounts was a frequent source of complaint; and the numerous changes which took place among them, owing probably to this as much as to any other cause, were calculated very materially to injure the reputation of the school. Besides the want of proper energy in the management of the university, another impediment to its prosperity existed in the unfriendly feelings with which it was regarded by many respectable citizens. Attached to the old school and its officers, and considering the new as having been founded in usurpation, they were disposed both from inclination and principle to prefer some distant seminary for the education of their children; thus not only withdrawing their immediate support from the university, but arraying against it the influence of their example with their fellow-citizens, and the force of new attachments among those who were hereafter to become active members of society. To this period we may perhaps trace the origin of those partialities which have directed away from our highest literary institution so much of the public patronage, and at this moment are operating to the disadvantage and dishonour of the city.

CHAPTER VIII.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COLLEGE.—SEPARATE EXISTENCE OF THE TWO SCHOOLS.—UNION OF THE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY.

IN the mean time the late authorities of the college were not quiescent under their wrongs. Dr. Smith, especially, was indefatigable in seeking redress for the institution and himself. In repeated memorials, drawn up with no little ability, he represented the injustice and unconstitutionality of the legislative proceedings in their case, and complained that, in his old age, dismissal from an office which he himself had rendered valuable should have been the only reward of his long and important services. Petitions, moreover, were presented to successive legislatures, by the displaced trustees; and the support of a numerous party was not wanting to enforce their claims of justice. The feelings of the venerable Franklin, who was now returned from Europe, were known to be in their favour; for, though by the law which established the university he was declared one of the trustees, and afterwards, as president of the executive council, had an additional right to the station, he had always declined qualifying himself for a seat at the board, by taking the requisite oaths. Though the public ear may for a time be deafened by the rage of party, it cannot always be closed to the voice of justice; and the current of opinion at length be-

gan to turn in favour of the old establishment. One effort, indeed, to restore the college charter by legislative enactment, proved abortive; but a bill subsequently introduced was more successful, and in the year 1789, a law was passed by a great majority, which reinstated the trustees and faculty in all their former estates and privileges. In the preamble of this law, the proceedings of the legislature by which these estates and privileges had been transferred to the trustees of the university, was stigmatized as "repugnant to justice, a violation of the constitution of this commonwealth, and dangerous in its precedent to all incorporated bodies;" so different are the views which will be taken of the same subject by men in the opposite states of calmness and excitement.

But the same sense of justice which led to the re-establishment of the college, forbade any farther interference in the affairs of the university than was necessary for the accomplishment of this purpose. The trustees of the latter institution, therefore, retained their corporate capacity; and, as the grant formerly made by the legislature out of the confiscated estates still remained to them, they were not left absolutely destitute of support. New buildings were provided for the accommodation of the schools; the faculties both in arts and in medicine continued their courses of instruction; and a yearly commencement was held as before, at which the various ordinary and honorary degrees were conferred. But the operations, which previously to this change, were not marked with vigour, now became still more languid; and after a feeble existence had been prolonged for the space of rather more than two years, it was found necessary, in order to avert total ruin, to propose a union with the rival seminary.

The trustees of the college had not been negligent in availing themselves of the act which had been passed in their favour. On the 9th of March, 1789, only three days after the

final passage of the law, they met at the house of Dr. Franklin, who was the oldest member of the board, and the only survivor of the original founders of the institution. The infirmities of the venerable patriot confined him chiefly if not altogether within doors, and at his request the meetings continued to be held at his dwelling till the middle of summer, when the increasing severity of his disorder rendered him totally unable to attend to public duties. Of the twenty-four trustees who constituted the board at the period of its dissolution, about ten years before this time, only fourteen remained; the rest having either died in the interval, or deserted the country during the revolution. Their first measures were to obtain possession of the college buildings, to organize the different departments of the seminary according to the former plan, to fill up vacancies in the various professorships, and to supply the deficiency in their own number by the election of new members.* Of the professors in the department of the arts, Dr. Smith and James Davidson were the only survivors. The former, as a matter of course, took the place of provost; and the latter, who, as was previously mentioned, had been employed in the university, accepted

* The following is a list of the trustees who were surviving at the re-establishment of the college:—

Benjamin Franklin, one of the founders, in the year	-	1749	Samuel Powell, chosen	-	1773
Benjamin Chew, chosen	-	1757	Right Rev. William White,		1774
Edward Shippen,	-	1758	Robert Morris,	}	- 1777
Thomas Willing,	-	1760	Francis Hopkinson,		
Dr. John Redman,	-	1763	George Clymer,	}	- 1778
John Lawrence,	-	1765	James Wilson,		
Thomas Mifflin,	-	1773	Alexander Wilcocks,	}	

The vacancies were supplied by the choice of the following gentlemen: Thomas Fitzsimmons, Henry Hill, Robert Blackwell, Samuel Miles, William Bingham, William Lewis, John Nixon, Robert Hare, Dr. Caspar Wistar, and Richard Peters. Edward Burd and David H. Conyngham were afterwards chosen to supply vacancies which occurred in the board. Dr. Franklin was made president, and after his death, was succeeded by Bishop White.

the invitation of the trustees to resume his office of professor of languages in the college. The faculty was completed by the appointment of the Rev. Dr. John Andrews and the Rev. William Rogers; the former to assist the provost in instructing the philosophical classes, the latter, with the title of professor of English and oratory, to superintend the English and mathematical schools.

Of the medical professors, Dr. Morgan was absent from indisposition, and died before the arrangements were completed; and Dr. Kuhn remained connected with the university: so that Dr. William Shippen, professor of anatomy and surgery; and Dr. Rush, who succeeded Morgan in the chair of the practice, were at this time the only members of the faculty. The original number was completed by the appointment of Dr. Wistar to the chair of chemistry and the institutes of medicine, and Dr. Samuel Powell Griffiths to that of materia medica and pharmacy. An additional professorship was created—that of botany and natural history; and Dr. Barton was chosen as its occupant. This may be regarded as one of the most interesting eras in the history of the medical school. It was now that Dr. Rush took that station which his genius and eloquence afterwards rendered so illustrious; it was now that Barton found a field for the display of acquirements unrivalled among his contemporary countrymen; it was now, moreover, that Wistar entered within those walls, which the fame of his talents as a teacher crowded with pupils, and about which his warm benevolence of heart, and delightful urbanity of manner combined to throw a charm, which, amidst all subsequent changes, has retained a strong influence over the affections of those who had the good fortune to listen to his instructions.

Soon after the revival of the school, a department of law was added to those of the arts and of medicine. James Wilson, a member of the board, was chosen professor, and de-

livered one or more courses of lectures; but with what success, I have been unable to learn. Of the estimation in which his talents were held by the trustees, independently of the evidence afforded by his appointment, we may form some idea from the amount within which it was thought necessary to limit the fee for admission to his lectures. At the request of Mr. Wilson that the board should ascertain the compensation he should be allowed to demand from each pupil, it was resolved that the sum should not exceed ten guineas. At present, the first legal talent in the country would command but a slender attendance upon a course of lectures, were a fee of this magnitude required.

In little more than a month from the first meeting of the trustees, the various schools were again opened upon their former plan. But most of the obstacles which were opposed to the success of the university, were no less in the way of the college; and it soon became evident that the separate existence of the two seminaries was incompatible with the prosperity of either. Their funds, managed with the utmost attention to economy, were utterly insufficient for the maintenance of two distinct sets of teachers and professors; and legislative assistance could not be demanded with propriety, as neither school could urge an exclusive claim to public bounty, and to endow both, would be to bestow treasure for the attainment of an inadequate object: for it was evident that the demands of the population would be abundantly satisfied by a single seminary of the highest order, which might be conducted at half the expense of the present establishments, and with at least equal efficiency. The same consideration which precluded the expectation of aid from the legislature, discouraged the trustees from resorting to that plan of soliciting private contributions, which had proved so useful to the college on former occasions, when no rival existed to divide the public benevolence and patronage.

There seemed, therefore, no other means of averting the ruin, or at least of raising the character and extending the usefulness of the schools of Philadelphia than to effect a union of their interests and resources. Happily, feelings of hostility had not acquired such vigour as not to yield at length to considerations of public good. Overtures for a union, proceeding from the trustees of the university, were received with unanimous approbation by those of the college; and as both were earnestly desirous of seeing the object accomplished, little time was sacrificed in arranging the necessary preliminaries. A joint application was made to the legislature for such alterations in the respective charters as might give the sanction of law to the proposed measure. The requisite act was obtained without difficulty; and on the 30th of September, 1791, the two corporations were by law united into one.

The principal conditions of the union were, first, that the name of the institution should be *the University of Pennsylvania*; secondly, that twenty-four individuals, chosen equally by the two boards from their own numbers, should, with the governor of the state constitute the new board, of which the governor should be *ex officio* president; and thirdly, that the "professors who might be deemed necessary to constitute the faculty in arts and in medicine" should as far as possible be taken equally from each institution. It was moreover provided, that vacancies among the trustees, with the exception of the governor, should be filled by their own choice; and that no professor or officer of the faculty should be removed without due and timely notice, and by a less number than two-thirds of the members present at any one meeting, thirteen being necessary to constitute a quorum for such a purpose. In compliance with the provisions of the law, each board proceeded to the performance of its last official act by the choice of twelve individuals as its representa-

tives in the government of the newly constituted university. The gentlemen thus appointed, together with Thomas Mifflin, the governor of the state, met, for the first time, on the 18th of November, 1791; and, having regularly organized themselves, proceeded without delay to restore to order the disjointed affairs which had been committed to their charge.*

One of their first measures was to unite the offices of secretary and treasurer in a single person, to whom they gave a compensation adequate to the trouble and responsibility of his station, exacting, at the same time, satisfactory security for the faithful discharge of the duties intrusted to him. As treasurer he was bound not only to receive and disburse money, and to perform such other services as are usually attached to this title; but also to exercise a general care and superintendence over the estates of the university, and, with the approbation of the trustees, to execute all those measures, of a financial character, which it had hitherto been the custom to refer to the management of committees. It was thought that the attention of one individual of respectable character and standing, whose peculiar interests, moreover, were made to correspond with the duties of his office, would be more profitable to the institution, in the management of its pecuniary affairs, than the gratuitous services of members of the board, whose public spirit could not be expected to withstand, on all occasions, the calls of private business, or to bear, without a relaxation of effort, the irksomeness and fa-

* The gentlemen chosen by the trustees of the university were, Thomas M'Kean, Charles Pettit, James Sproat, Frederick Kuhl, John Bleakly, John Carson, Jonathan B. Smith, David Rittenhouse, Jonathan D. Sergeant, David Jackson, James Irvin, and Jared Ingersoll. Those selected by the trustees of the college were William White, D. D., Robert Blackwell, D. D., Edward Shippen, William Lewis, Robert Hare, Samuel Powell, David H. Conyngham, William Bingham, Thomas Fitzsimmons, George Clymer, Edward Burd, and Samuel Miles.

tigue which are incident to trusts of such a nature. Nor were the calculations of the board disappointed. The propriety of the measure has been demonstrated both by the neatness and accuracy of the records, and by the careful management of the finances, since the period of its adoption.*

In the succeeding chapters I shall present a very general view of the organization of the university; and, without entering into minute particulars, shall trace the current of its affairs down to the present time.

* Edward Fox was the first secretary and treasurer of the university; and continued to retain the office till the period of his death. He was succeeded by Joseph Beed, Esq., recorder of the city.

CHAPTER IX.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY, AFTER THE UNION OF THE SCHOOLS.

To effect a satisfactory arrangement of the internal affairs of the institution was found by the trustees to be a task of some difficulty. It was evidently impossible, with the limited funds under their control, and with a proper regard to the best interests of the school, so to expand its establishment, as to embrace, in its various offices, all the professors and teachers who had been connected with the late college and university; and yet, a sense of the justice due to these gentlemen, as well as private feelings of friendship or regard entertained towards them by individual members of the board, demanded that as many of them should be included in the new scheme as might in any way be consistent with the great object, for the attainment of which they were to be employed. Between these opposing considerations, to hit upon the just medium, required the exercise of cautious reflection, and a spirit of mutual condescension among the friends of those candidates whose conflicting claims were in the way of a proper settlement. At length, however, a plan for the seminary was prepared, which, though not without some opposition, was ultimately adopted.

It was determined that, beside the charity schools, there should be three departments; those of the arts, of law, and of

medicine. In the department of arts, five separate schools were instituted, to be placed under the care of six professors, assisted by as many tutors as might from time to time be deemed necessary. The first school was to consist of two philosophical classes, to be taught respectively by two professors; the one of natural philosophy, the other of moral philosophy. The four remaining schools were each to have a distinct professor; the grammar school, a professor of Latin and Greek; the mathematical school, a professor of mathematics; the English school, a professor of English and the belles-lettres; and the German school, a professor of the German and oriental languages. To fill the six professorships thus established, three individuals were to be chosen out of each of the former faculties, in compliance with that provision of the act of union, by which the trustees were bound to select the officers of the university equally from the two seminaries.

According to the regulations above detailed, the following gentlemen were appointed to the chairs respectively connected with their names;—Dr. Ewing to the chair of natural philosophy; Dr. Andrews to that of moral philosophy; Mr. Davidson to that of Greek and Latin; Mr. Patterson to that of the mathematics; Mr. Rogers to that of English and the belles-lettres; and finally, Dr. Henry Helmuth, the successor of Mr. Kunze in the late university, to that of the German and oriental languages.* At a subsequent election Dr. Ewing was chosen provost, and Dr. Andrews vice-provost.

From the above statement, it appears, that only two of the late professors, Dr. Magaw of the university, and Dr. Smith of the college, were omitted in the new appoint-

* The German school was maintained but for a short time, being either inadequately supported, or not found productive of those advantages which were originally proposed.

ments. The former of these gentlemen, understanding that by becoming a candidate he might interfere with the interests of his friend Dr. Andrews, generously declined a nomination; the latter, though supported by a large number of the trustees, had, however, a majority opposed to him, and was now finally separated from an institution, with the infancy of which he had become associated in early life, whose youth he had strengthened and adorned in the vigour of his age, and whose untimely decay, now in his declining years, was another link in the chain of sympathy by which it had so long been connected with his fortunes. The age and infirmities of the late provost were probably thought to unfit him for the superintendence of a great seminary, in which vigour of authority must be conjoined with extensive knowledge and talents for instructing; and an inferior station could hardly have been offered with propriety, or accepted without degradation. It is possible, however, that a little leaven of old political animosity may have lurked in the minds of those who opposed him, and mingling with the more obvious motives, have communicated to them a force and influence which they might not otherwise have possessed. Yet this feeling, if it existed at all, must have been feeble; for no asperity marked the official proceedings, and every disposition was displayed to do, in whatever regarded pecuniary matters, all that justice could require. The doctor was allowed to retain, for one year, free from rent, the house which he had occupied as provost of the college; his claims upon the institution to the amount of nine hundred pounds were admitted and adjusted; and an annuity of one hundred pounds, formerly granted in consideration of his services in England, was now secured to him for life. The intimate connexion of the affairs of the old college, in all its vicissitudes of good and bad fortune, with him who was its first and last provost, has necessarily brought be-

fore our view many events in the life of that prominent individual; and circumstances peculiar to himself—his learning, his talents, his public-spirited exertions, and the large space which he filled in the esteem and affection of a numerous and most respectable acquaintance—give these events a value in narration, which would, perhaps, have justified us in presenting them to the public in still more minute detail than we have deemed necessary merely for the illustration of this historical sketch. It may not be amiss to state, in taking a final leave of the venerable provost, that his life, already far advanced at the period of his separation from the institution, was protracted to the year 1803.

In the department of law, the regulations which originated with the late college, were still maintained, and Mr. Wilson was continued in his professorship. But the place seems to have been nominal; for no salary was attached to it, and sufficient encouragement was not afforded by students to compensate the trouble of a regular course of lectures. To the present time, instruction in law continues, on paper at least, to be a part of the scheme of the university. In the year 1817, attention was called to the subject by the annunciation of a course from Charles W. Hare, at that time professor; and a respectable attendance was commanded by the high and well merited reputation of that accomplished lawyer. I am not aware, however, that the effort was continued beyond one season; and it has not since been repeated.

It has before been stated that a complete history of the medical school does not constitute a part of our present design. I shall now, therefore, merely mention the names of the gentlemen who were chosen professors in this department. The new faculty was composed of William Shippen, professor of anatomy, surgery, and midwifery; Caspar Wistar, adjunct professor of the same branches; Adam Kuhn, professor of the practice of physic; Benjamin Rush, profes-

sor of the institutes and clinical medicine; James Hutchinson, professor of chemistry; Samuel Powell Griffiths, professor of materia medica; and Benjamin S. Barton, professor of natural history and botany. Of these gentlemen, the first six were chosen equally from the late college and university; the seventh, though nominally a member of the faculty, was not placed on the same footing with the others as, by a resolution of the board, an attendance upon his lectures was declared not to be an essential requisite for obtaining the medical honours.

CHAPTER X.

ACCOUNT OF THE PROFESSORS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

It will be most convenient, for the sake of avoiding confusion in the subsequent narrative of events, to pursue at once down to the present time the succession in the faculty of arts, without immediate reference to the particular situation of the seminary at the period of each new appointment. As the mere name of an individual is a blank to those unacquainted with his person, character, or history, a few condensed biographical notices will be necessary, in order that correct conceptions may be formed of the condition and merits of the institution of which the subjects of the proposed notices were the conductors.

The Rev. Dr. John Ewing, the first provost of the university, had risen by his own exertions from very humble beginnings. The son of a farmer of moderate circumstances in Maryland, and one of a numerous family, he had neither, when a boy, the advantages of a regular education, nor, in his manhood, the assistance of any influential relatives to push his fortunes in the world. Gifted, however, with a strong propensity to scientific pursuits, he improved the slender opportunities which were afforded him in his native place by industrious and eager application; and when old enough to enter upon an independent course of life, left his father's house, to seek elsewhere the means of instruction

and support. Both objects were secured by an engagement which he formed, in the double capacity of pupil and assistant, with Dr. Allison, who then taught a private school, with much reputation, in the province of Pennsylvania. Such was his diligence in his new station, and such the extent of his acquirements, that on application for admission to the college at Princeton, he was not only received in one of the higher classes, but was also employed as a tutor; and was thus enabled to continue his plan of improving himself, and of earning a livelihood by assisting in the improvement of others. Having obtained his degree, he devoted himself to the study of theology; and returning to Dr. Allison, now vice-provost of the college of Philadelphia, qualified himself, under his instruction, for admission into the ministry. His first connexion with the institution, over which he was ultimately called to preside, took place soon after this period. The absence of Dr. Smith in Great Britain, on the business of the college, having occasioned a temporary vacancy in the faculty, Mr. Ewing, though then only twenty-six years old, was thought qualified to supply his place in the charge of the philosophical classes. Shortly afterwards, he entered into the pastoral office as minister of the first Presbyterian congregation of Philadelphia, to which he continued attached during the remainder of his life. It was in consequence of this station that he became one of the trustees of the university, founded by the legislature upon the ruins of the college; and his elevation to the office of provost, while it was due to his attainments in learning and science, was undoubtedly facilitated by his known attachment to the principles of the revolution, and to the independence of his country. That he should have countenanced the injury done to his former friends, and even been willing to partake of their spoils, is only a proof that the best men, by the violence of party excitement, are apt to have their vision so perverted,

that an act of injustice, if it promote the great political object in view, assumes in their eyes the colour of necessity, if not of virtue. It has been seen, that on the union of the schools, his claims to the provostship were thought to overbalance the high qualifications and long services of Dr. Smith. He continued to preside over the university, and to perform the duties of professor of natural philosophy till 1802, when he died, at the age of seventy-one years. But for a short time before the close of his life, he was disabled by ill health from that steady and vigorous application to the business of his station which had characterized the early period of his employment, and by which alone he could compensate the university for that unfortunate division of his time and attention, which his adherence to the pastoral office rendered necessary. From the accounts which are left of Dr. Ewing, he appears to have been characterized rather by strong judgment and indefatigable application, than by great genius or brilliant imagination. As a mathematician he was thought not to have a superior in the Union. His classical attainments were highly respectable, and by a fondness for biblical researches, he was led to devote much time to the study of the Hebrew language. While the extent of his acquirements commanded the respect of all, the mildness and goodness of his character, and the excellence of his social qualities secured him the kindness and affection of his companions. On a visit which he paid to Great Britain, before his elevation to the provostship, he was received with the highest marks of favour in the literary circles of Edinburgh and London, where he acquired the friendship of several distinguished men, particularly of the celebrated historian Dr. Robertson, by whom he was remembered affectionately to the time of his death. It was on this visit that he received, without solicitation, the title of Doctor of Divinity, conferred upon him by the university of Edinburgh. The lectures on

natural philosophy which he delivered to the classes under his care, were printed after his death, and, though at present out of date, attracted considerable attention at the time of their publication.

The place left vacant by the death of Dr. Ewing, was not filled by a new appointment till the year 1806, when John M'Dowell, L.L. D., of Annapolis in Maryland, was induced to resign his station as principal of St. John's College, in order to accept the professorship of natural philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania, which was offered him by a unanimous vote of the board of trustees. In the commencement of the following year he was elected provost: but the state of his health was found to be incompatible with the duties he had undertaken to perform; and in little more than three years after entering the institution, he retired into the country, and left to the trustees the embarrassment of another choice. He afterwards evinced his attachment to the school, by supplying a temporary vacancy occasioned by the resignation of his successor; and still later, by the bequest of his books, which now form a valuable part of the library belonging to the institution.

At the period of Dr. M'Dowell's retirement, Dr. Andrews had been vice-provost for nearly twenty years; and his services both in the college and university, together with the respectability of his attainments and character, entitled him to what little addition of honour and emolument was to be derived from his elevation to the higher post. A native of Maryland, he was, at the age of seventeen, sent to receive his education in the college and academy at Philadelphia, where he graduated A. D. 1765, and was immediately employed as a tutor in the German school; thus beginning his career in the lowest station of that institution, in the highest office of which it was destined to close. Having qualified himself for the ministry, and received regular ordination in

the Episcopal church from the bishop of London, he entered into the service of the celebrated English "Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts;" and, in the capacity of a missionary, preached at different places in the interior of Pennsylvania and Maryland. The revolution found him settled with a congregation in the latter of these provinces; but as his political sentiments were not exactly accordant with those of the great majority of his parishioners, his situation soon became so uncomfortable as to induce him to remove to Yorktown, where he maintained himself for many years by the profits of a flourishing school. In 1785, he accepted an invitation to take charge of the Episcopal academy then just established in this city, which he continued to superintend till, upon the revival of the college and academy, he was induced to become a colleague of his former master, Dr. Smith, in the management of the philosophical school. I have already spoken of his long services in the university. In December 1810, he was unanimously elected provost; but his health now began to give way, and he was compelled to withdraw from the institution, after having enjoyed his elevation little more than two years. Though not described as a man of splendid abilities, Dr. Andrews was highly esteemed as a first rate classical scholar, and an excellent teacher. The works he has left behind him are the living records of his diligence and skill—they are the numerous men of note in the various walks of professional life, the foundation of whose reputation was laid in the instruction they received from him in their youth.

In reply to the letter in which Dr. Andrews, a few months before his death, announced his desire to resign his station in the university, the trustees expressed their high sense "of the unremitting industry and great ability with which he had successively filled the offices of provost and vice-provost;" and communicated their unanimous resolution that the salary

which he had hitherto received should be continued to him during the remainder of his life. The Rev. Frederick Beasley, the present learned and respected provost, was chosen to succeed him in July, 1813.

Having spoken of the successive principals of the university, it remains that I should briefly notice their several coadjutors. It will be remembered that Robert Patterson was one of those who were selected from the faculty of the late university, with which he had been connected from its origin, first in a subordinate capacity as a teacher in the mathematical school, and afterwards with the title and privileges of professor. Few teachers in this city have passed through a career at once so long, so uniformly correct, honourable, and prosperous, as that which prudence and fortune combined to mark out for this gentleman. Though an Irishman by birth, he came to this country before the revolution, and possessing therefore all the rights and feelings of a citizen, exhibited, throughout the course of his life, a warm attachment to our republican institutions, and a passionate interest in our national honour and greatness. Some previous experience in the art of teaching, and a skill in the mathematics which was the natural result of diligent application, great mental accuracy, and clearness of intellect, fitted him well for the chair, which, without the extraneous influence of friends and relatives, they enabled him to attain. To the professorship of mathematics, after the death of Dr. M'Dowell, he united that of natural philosophy; and in the year 1810 was made vice-provost, in the place of Dr. Andrews. Independently of his emoluments from the university, he for many years enjoyed a considerable salary as president of the mint. Thus comfortable in his circumstances, he was enabled, in the decline of life, to withdraw from the fatigues of his professorship, and to seek that repose which was now

essential to his tranquillity. Testimonies of the public esteem followed him into retirement. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the institution which he had so long and diligently served; and in the presidency of the philosophical society, to which he was appointed on the death of Dr. Wistar, he received the highest literary honour in the gift of any association on this side of the Atlantic.

At the time of his resignation, a favourite son had been chosen to supply his place till a regular appointment should be made. He lived not only to witness the confirmation of this son in the professorship, but to experience, from his honourable exertions and well merited reputation, the purest gratification of which the parental heart is susceptible. To crown the felicity of his lot, he had united the Christian with the philosopher; and, at a good old age, went down to his grave, with the full assurance that he should rise again to a happier and more exalted existence. Dr. Robert M. Patterson, the present vice-provost and professor of natural philosophy, succeeded his father A. D. 1813.

Of the professors who belonged to the college before its overthrow in 1779, Mr. Davidson alone had retained his station through all the subsequent changes. In the superintendence of the academy of Newark in Delaware, he had exhibited such evidence of his familiarity with the learned languages, and of his abilities as a teacher, that on the death of Mr. Beveridge, he was thought qualified to supply the place of that accomplished scholar, and was invited towards the close of the year 1767, with offers too favourable to be resisted, to take charge of the Latin school. That his talents continued to be held in high estimation is evinced by the fact, that in each successive change of the institution, care was taken to secure his services. The same fact speaks favourably of the prudence and general moderation of his cha-

racter, by which he was enabled to steer through the embarrassments of a most agitated period, without either striking against the prejudices and passions which beset him on all sides, or suffering himself to be carried away by the violence of the currents which swept across his course. In the same tenour of usefulness and respectability his life ran evenly on, till at length the debility of old age overtook him, and rendered a retirement from active duties advisable on account of the university, and necessary for his own comfort. Upon the occasion of his resignation, the board of trustees, expressing the "high regard and respect" which they entertained for him, resolved that "in consideration of his long and faithful services," he should be allowed an annuity of two hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and the use of the house which he then occupied, during the remainder of his life. Mr. Davidson resigned in February, 1806; and in the month of May following, James G. Thompson, the present excellent professor of the Latin and Greek languages, was appointed in his place.

The Rev. William Rogers, professor of English and the belles-lettres, was a clergyman of the Baptist church. He had served during the revolution as chaplain in the army, and afterwards had the charge of a congregation in this city. His office in the university, though nominally on a footing with the other professorships, was in fact regarded as less essentially connected with the interests of the seminary, and therefore commanded less both of influence and emolument. Of so little importance indeed was it considered, that, in a change of regulations which took place in the year 1810, the trustees resolved that it was expedient to suppress it: but, at the same time, unwilling to wound the feelings of Dr. Rogers, they determined that it should remain in its former condition till after the death or resignation of that gentleman.

The latter of these contingencies was soon realized. Unwilling that the institution, from a regard to his convenience, should continue to suffer an unnecessary burden, he withdrew from it altogether, and left the board at liberty to make whatever arrangements they might deem most salutary. Dr. Rogers, after surviving all his former colleagues, died recently at an advanced age.

CHAPTER XI.

REMOVAL OF THE SCHOOL.—NEW UNIVERSITY EDIFICE IN NINTH STREET.

HAVING given a brief account of the gentlemen who composed the faculty of arts, as it was constituted immediately after the union of the schools, and of their successors to the present time, we may now recur to what belongs, perhaps, more strictly to the history of the institution—the consideration, namely, of those various changes in its external and internal affairs which circumstances and a more mature experience have at different periods rendered necessary or advisable.

The first interesting event after the arrangements of the schools had been completed, was their removal from the academy in Fourth Street, to the more elegant and commodious building which they now occupy, and which was purchased by the trustees from the government of the state. As very erroneous impressions have been entertained by many of our citizens relative to the history of this edifice, we shall not perhaps be thought to transgress the limits proper to our subject, by relating briefly the circumstances which led to its erection, and those which afterwards occasioned its transfer. It is well known that in the year 1791, the Congress of the United States assembled in Philadelphia, in pursuance of a resolution of the previous session, by which the seat

of government was transferred from New York to this place. It comported as well with the dignity as with the interest of Pennsylvania, that her metropolis, which had thus become, for a time, the political centre of the Union, should be rendered in every way an acceptable residence to those who represented the national authority. Provision was accordingly made, at the public expense, for the suitable accommodation of the two houses of Congress; and by an act of the legislature, passed on the 30th of September, 1791, a large sum of money was appropriated for the building of a mansion to serve as a residence for the president of the United States, so long as Philadelphia should continue to be the seat of the national councils. In pursuance of this act, a lot was purchased, situated on the west side of Ninth Street, and extending from Market to Chesnut Streets, on which a building was commenced, appropriate, in extent of plan and solidity of structure, to the purpose for which it was designed. At various periods of its progress, further appropriations became necessary; and by the time of its completion, in the spring of 1797, its cost had amounted to little short of one hundred thousand dollars.

Among the motives which originally led to its erection, there can be no doubt that affectionate gratitude to the great man who then filled the presidency, was mingled with considerations of general policy; but nothing of this kind was expressed in the letter of the act, the provisions of which had reference solely to the office of chief magistrate, not to the person of any particular individual. It was probably from a knowledge of the feelings which actuated the legislature, that the opinion became and has continued very prevalent in this city, that the building was not only expressly designed for the use of Washington, but was even offered to his acceptance, and declined from a sense of the propriety of maintaining, in the exercise of his high duties, an independ-

ence, free alike from the reality and the suspicion of bias. The fact, however, is, that it was not completed till after his retirement from public office, and therefore could not have been applied to his accommodation in his character of president. It was Mr. Adams to whom the offer was made, and by whom it was declined. Towards this gentleman, however, the warmth of attachment was neither so intense nor so widely diffused; and conditions were annexed to the offer, certainly not contemplated in the original intentions of the legislature, and hardly compatible, as it appears to me, with the honour and dignity of the commonwealth. The grounds upon which Mr. Adams felt himself bound to decline the favour, were the obligations of that article of the constitution which forbids the receipt by the president either from an individual state, or from the United States, of any other emolument than the yearly salary attached to his office.*

* The following is an extract from a note, dated March 3d, 1797, addressed by Governor Mifflin to the president elect. "In the year 1791, the legislature of Pennsylvania directed a house to be built for the accommodation of the president of the United States, and empowered the governor to lease the premises. As the building will be completed in the course of a few weeks, permit me to tender it for your accommodation, and to inform you, that, although I regret the necessity of making any stipulation on the subject, I shall consider the rent for which you might obtain any other suitable house in Philadelphia, (and which you will be pleased to mention,) as a sufficient compensation for the use of the one now offered." The reply of Mr. Adams was promptly conveyed. "The respect to the United States," says he in a note of the same date with the above, "intended by the legislature of Pennsylvania in building a house for the president, will, no doubt, be acknowledged by the Union as it ought to be. For your kind offer of it to me, in consequence of their authority, I pray you to accept my respectful thanks, and to present them to the legislature. But as I entertain great doubts, whether by a candid construction of the constitution of the United States, I am at liberty to accept it, without the intervention and authority of Congress, and there is not time for any application to them, I must pray you to apologize for me to the legislature for declining the offer." See Journal of the House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

As the purpose for which the house had been built was now frustrated, and no other use to which it could be profitably applied presented itself, it became necessary so to dispose of the premises as to reimburse, as far as possible, the expense incurred by the state in their purchase and improvement. By a law passed in March, 1800, they were directed to be sold at public auction; and in July of the same year they were purchased by the university, for the moderate sum of forty-one thousand six hundred and fifty dollars, less than half their original cost. As the purchase money was to be paid by instalments, the trustees were enabled to meet the demands upon them by the disposal of stock, and the sale of a portion of the old college and adjoining premises. A part of this property in Fourth Street they were bound by the conditions of their title deeds to retain in their possession, for the maintenance of a charity school, and the accommodation of itinerant preachers.* By letting on ground-rent those unoccupied lots of their new purchase which fronted on Market and Chesnut streets, they provided a permanent income, which has very materially lightened the pressure of the first cost upon their resources. Some alterations in the building necessary to fit it for the purposes to which it was now destined, were made immediately after it came into their hands; and a very extensive edifice has since been added for the use of the medical professors. The schools were not finally transferred to it till the spring of 1802.†

* A part of the old academy was sold to a society of methodists, for whom it long served as a place of worship. This portion has recently been taken down and replaced by a new church. The northern half of the building is still standing and in possession of the trustees.—*January, 1834.*

† Since this account was written, the buildings alluded to have been taken down, and their place supplied by others, more symmetrical in their external appearance, and better adapted, in their internal arrangements, to the varied business of a great collegiate establishment. The new college hall was

CHAPTER XII.

LANGUISHING CONDITION OF THE SCHOOLS IN THE UNIVERSITY.—DEFECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS UPON WHICH THIS CONDITION DEPENDED.

THE inquiry may now be reasonably made, whether the success of the university was such as to justify those high and apparently well grounded expectations to which the union of the schools had given rise. For the honour of Philadelphia, it would be well could we truly answer this question in the affirmative; but the fact is too notorious to be denied, that, with the exception of the pecuniary affairs, which were soon brought into good order and comparative prosperity, there was reason for several years rather to regret a still further depression, than to boast of an advancement in the fortunes of the institution. Since the first establishment of the college, there had scarcely been a period, unless during the severest commotions of the revolution, when the students in the higher branches were less numerous, or the reputation of the seminary at a lower ebb. In the philosophical school, consisting of the two highest classes, there were in the year 1797 only twelve students; the numbers qualified to graduate

opened for the reception of students in the autumn of 1830. During the progress of the building, the classes were accommodated in the old academy in Fourth Street. A representation of the former university edifice may be seen in the "Views in Philadelphia and its Vicinity," published in Philadelphia in 1827, by C. G. Childs.—*January*, 1834.

were in several instances so few, that it was deemed unnecessary and impolitic to hold commencements; and when the practice of conferring degrees publicly was resumed, it not unfrequently happened, that only five or six individuals appeared as candidates for the honours. It is not to be supposed that this state of things was regarded with indifference by the trustees: on the contrary, committees of investigation were frequently appointed; the sources of the evil were diligently explored; as each mistake or deficiency was rendered sensible, efforts were made to correct or supply it; till at length the features of the institution were completely changed, and its whole system so remodelled as to bring it into closer accordance with the character of the times, and to extend considerably its sphere of usefulness.

The historian of nations deems it his duty not only to record alternations of prosperity and misfortune, glory and disgrace; but also to search out and explain the causes of these changes, that useful lessons may thus be afforded to statesmen, and the good of the past augmented, and its evil diminished, by the example and warning it is made to hold out to the future. The same principle should influence the humbler author, who confines his attention to small communities; for they, too, may have successors to be benefited by the picture of their vicissitudes. No excuse, therefore, is necessary for attempting to expose the causes of the very low condition into which the university was depressed, at the close of the last, and commencement of the present century.

Among these causes may, perhaps, be included the practice of compensating the professors by fixed salaries, without allowing them any share in the proceeds of tuition. There is a *vis inertie* in mind as well as in matter, and the best men acknowledge that, to put forth their highest energies, they require the incitement of powerful motives. An

officer with a fixed salary, of which he neither fears the diminution nor expects the increase, without any apprehension, so long as he exhibits no gross negligence or misconduct, of losing his situation, and equally without the hope of higher advancement, will, if an honest man, perform punctually his prescribed routine of duties; but he will seldom be willing to sacrifice allowable gratifications, to devote to labour his hours of permitted leisure, to task, in fine, all his faculties to the utmost, with no other reward in view than the welfare of those by whom he may be employed, or of the institution to which he may be attached. In great seminaries, where so much depends upon the talents and energy of the teachers, the lukewarmness resulting from this want of strong personal interest, may be seriously felt in the languor of their operations, and the consequent disrepute into which, if not strongly supported by local attachments, or the force of opinion, they will be apt to fall. With regard to the school of Philadelphia, it may, indeed, be said, that the regulation alluded to, had been introduced at its origin, and had been maintained during its greatest prosperity. But at that early period, there was comparatively little competition to encounter; novelty itself afforded no moderate stimulus to exertion; and in the instability and immaturity of the infant establishment, there was, in fact, a strong inducement held out to the professors to spare no efforts which might tend to fix it on a more elevated and firmer basis, and thus render their own situation more honourable and secure. That afterwards, when age had given it stability, and its continued existence was secured by its own internal strength, the system of compensation by fixed salaries became highly injurious to its interests, cannot be reasonably doubted. The fact, indeed, was so obvious, that it at length attracted the notice and interference of the trustees, who in the spring of 1800, came to a resolution, that the professors, in addition to

their regular salaries, which at that time varied from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty pounds per annum, should be entitled to the tuition money of their respective schools, thus giving them a motive for exertion which could not but be productive of favourable results.

These results, however, were not immediate. There were yet some radical errors, the injurious influence of which, so long as they were allowed to remain, no industry nor talent in the teachers could wholly counteract. But by their late resolve the trustees had brought a principle into action, which never rests till all its purposes are accomplished. The interests of the professors having become identical with those of the seminary, there now existed, in the faculty of arts, a body of men watchful over its concerns, quick-sighted in detecting all the weak parts of its structure, sagacious in discovering remedies for present evils and sources of new vigour, and eager to bring their views into practical application. The board of trustees, which, though composed of some of the wisest and best men in the community, is naturally slow in the formation of opinions, and still slower in its decisions, was quickened by this spirit of its own creation into clearer views and more energetic action. The subsequent changes may therefore be said to have grown out of that first regulation, which, planted in the principles of our nature, could not but spring up into vigorous and fruitful increase.

The system of the seminary was fundamentally wrong. In the first place, the professors had no sufficient bond of union by which, in the business of instruction, their efforts might harmonize, and their strength operate to the greatest advantage by being exerted in one direction. With the exception of the professors of moral and natural philosophy, who divided the philosophical classes between them, each had his distinct school, which he managed at his own discre-

tion, and the pupils of which had no other connexion with the university than such as arose from the office held by their teacher. With such an organization, the pursuit of any systematic course of instruction, if possible at all, must have been liable to continual interruptions, alike injurious to the scholar, and derogatory to the credit of the school.

Another evil existed in the want of proper classification among the students. The distinction between the collegiate and academical parts of the institution, which had never been sufficiently marked, was now scarcely perceptible. Almost every branch of knowledge considered essential in a course of education, from the lowest to the highest, was included in its scheme; and if we except the two philosophical classes, the students of every grade were mingled together, not only under the same roof, but in the same apartment, and under the same teachers; so that the boy learning the simplest rules of arithmetic, or the first lesson in grammar, was neighbour to the young man engaged in the highest mathematical and classical studies. In this absence of discrimination, an impolitic disregard was exhibited to that strongest feeling of the youthful breast, the desire of distinction; which gives to the priority of a few years in age, or a slight superiority of attainment, a degree of importance, the influence of which we are apt, in manhood, to forget or undervalue. To be associated as pupils in the same establishment, even to be seen coming out of the same door with children but just out of their petticoats, was to the elder students, who began to look upon themselves as young men, a highly disagreeable necessity; but to be mingled in the close fellowship of a school-room, was a degradation to which only the force of parental authority could induce them to submit. All whose own inclinations were consulted, were naturally induced to prefer some other seminary, where their claims to a proper consideration would be respected; and numbers were thus di-

rected away from the school of Philadelphia, whom the advantages of proximity, united with their local attachments, would otherwise have connected with it.

Another circumstance contributed to the same result. It is the custom in most colleges for the students to pursue their studies in private, and to be collected together in the presence of the professors for a short time only each day, for the recital of the prescribed lessons, or to attend the lectures which are usually given. But, by the regulations of the university, it was required that the scholars of the higher as well as lower classes should be detained for several hours, both in the morning and afternoon, within the walls of the seminary, where they were compelled to attend to their several subjects of study under the immediate eye of their teachers, being considered as too young or too giddy to be trusted to their own private exertions, and as needing some other incentive to exertion, than the desire of applause, fear of shame, or sense of duty.

From these causes it happened that the alumni of the university were not only few, but often of an age better adapted to the commencement than to the completion of a course of the higher studies; and the institution came to be regarded as a seminary of inferior grade, which, however well it might have been adapted to those circumstances of a young community in accordance with which it was originally established, had not kept pace with the general march of improvement, and was now behind many others of which it had formerly enjoyed the undoubted precedence.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW REGULATIONS.—INSTITUTION OF THE PHILOMATHEAN SOCIETY.—IMPROVED STATE OF THE SCHOOL.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL SCIENCE.

IN the year 1810 a reformation was commenced by a complete separation of the seminary into two parts, the boundaries of which were distinctly marked, and their objects accurately defined. The students of the college, arranged into three classes—the freshman, junior, and senior—were placed under a faculty composed of three professors, who filled respectively the chairs of moral philosophy, of natural philosophy and the mathematics, and of the languages. Of these professors one was the provost, and the second the vice-provost of the university. The term of study was confined to three years; and the course of instruction embraced, together with the Latin and Greek classics, all those higher branches of learning and science which are usually taught in colleges. By a special determination of the board it was provided, that whenever punishments might be necessary, they should be directed exclusively to “a sense of duty, and the principle of honour and shame.” From this it would appear, that the students might previously have been subjected to occasional bodily chastisement—a degradation to which high-minded young men could not be expected to submit; and the liability to which, if it really did exist, must have had a great ef-

fect in lowering the general standard of character and attainment in the school, and bringing down its reputation to that inferior level upon which it stood for many years.

The resignation of Dr. Rogers gave the trustees an opportunity of abolishing the professorship of English and the belles-letters; and the English school, which, from the foundation of the institution had constituted a part of it, was shortly afterwards dissolved. Under the name of the academy, a grammar school was retained, in which were taught the various inferior branches of learning, necessary as a preparation for entering upon a collegiate course. Over this school was placed one or more teachers, without the title of professor, without any authority in the general management of the institution, and subject to the superintendence and control of the collegiate faculty. The charity schools, which constituted a third division of the department of arts, were also placed under the care of the faculty; so that the college, while in itself independent, was enabled to exercise over the inferior branches a degree of authority, sufficient to preserve them in accordance with its own interests, and to give the character of a regular system to all the operations of the seminary.

Such were the first steps in the path of improvement. Further advances were gradually made, as the way became clearer, and experience began to demonstrate the safety if not expediency of the course pursued. To raise the character of the college, higher qualifications for admittance were made requisite; and among these qualifications, a suitable age was considered essential. Formerly, boys had not unfrequently been permitted to pass through and receive the honours of the institution, whose immaturity of years was, of itself, a sufficient evidence of their unfitness for these honours; and men who beheld these unfledged *alumni*, could not but doubt the judgment and prudence of that *alma mater*, who

had sent them forth from her bosom while yet so incompetent to their own intellectual management. It was resolved that no applicant should be received into the lowest class under the age of fourteen; a time of life at which it was thought that the sense of honour might be sufficiently developed to serve as a motive for strenuous application, and the intellect sufficiently mature to render such application productive.

With the view of exciting emulation among the students, greater care was taken to apportion the several grades of honorary distinction at the commencements to the merits of the candidates; while, in the mean time, they were taught to feel more strongly the influence of public sentiment, and to allow it more authority over their conduct, by occasional exhibitions of their skill in oratory before respectable assemblages of citizens.

They were, moreover, encouraged to form among themselves an association, similar to those which exist in many other colleges in this country, and the influence of which has been found highly beneficial, both to the young men who belong to them, and to the seminaries under the auspices of which they have been established. In these societies, the charm of secrecy has been employed to attract new members, and to maintain a stronger interest among the old; while it is deprived of all mischievous tendency by the participation of the professors and other officers of the college. To be able fully to appreciate the importance of such institutions, we must revert to the period of our own youth, and call to mind the deep interest, the spirit at once of union and emulation, the kindly feelings towards each other united with the energetic determination to excel, inspired into us by their manlike exercises; and while dwelling on these recollections, we shall experience in the love with which our hearts warm and expand towards the scene of our young efforts, and the vivid desire which arises to witness and contribute to its

prosperity, a sure evidence of the lasting benefit which must flow to the seats of learning, from multiplying such sources of pleasant and affectionate association. The Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania was founded in the year 1813, and still exists. The attention of the public is annually called to it by an address, commemorative of its origin, delivered by some one of its older members, appointed for the purpose.*

Notwithstanding all these changes, there yet remained, in the plan and arrangement of the seminary, some errors which it was important to rectify. The period of three years, to which the college term was restricted, was insufficient for the completion, without extraordinary talent and industry, of the prescribed course of studies; and the proper qualifications for a degree could not therefore be so rigidly insisted on, as if a due portion of time had been allotted. Nor was the number of professors proportionate to the task of instruction, embracing as it did almost the whole circle of the sciences. Some branches were necessarily omitted or imperfectly taught; and thus, to the want of time, was added another cause for insufficient preparation on the part of the student. It naturally followed from these circumstances, that the requisites of graduation were considered lower, and consequently the honour of a degree less, in the university, than in most of the prominent colleges of the United States; and, as the regulation requiring a long attendance of the students upon the professors remained unaltered, and the grammar school, though entirely separate in its government and conduct from the college, was still maintained in the same building, and therefore frequently confounded with the higher department, the institution was not yet able to rise entirely out of that

* Another society of a similar character, has since been instituted among the students of the university, under the name of the Zelosophic Society.—*January, 1834.*

reputation of inferiority, which had been attached to it from the period of the revolution.

The trustees, however, becoming sensible of these disadvantages, have recently made alterations, which, so far as regards the organization of the department of arts, leave little further to be desired. The grammar school has been removed from the building in Ninth Street, and located in the old academy; so that the collegians no longer incur the risk of being confounded with the inferior pupils, and are allowed to enjoy unalloyed the natural and salutary sense of importance belonging to their station. That other unsatisfactory regulation relative to the time of their attendance has also been altered; and in this respect they are now placed on a footing with the students of the highest and most respectable seminaries. The term of study has been extended to four years; another class has been added to the three previously existing; and the faculty has been augmented by the appointment of a tutor, and the institution of a fourth professorship.

Time has not been allowed, since the adoption of these regulations, for the full development of those good effects which may reasonably be expected from them; but the result of the changes which were made at an earlier period has been highly favourable. Since the year 1810, the university has certainly taken a higher standing than it had previously enjoyed. Its operations have been conducted with greater regularity; the courses of instruction have been more complete and efficient; and the annual number of graduates, varying from seven to thirty-four, has exhibited an increase of reputation and popularity, which though by no means equal to the wishes of its friends, or to its just claims, gives us a cheering assurance that the later improvements, which are but just beginning to be carried into effect, will not be fruitless in the end.

In the same spirit which originated the measures above

detailed, the board of trustees, in the year 1816, determined to institute a new department in the university, to be devoted more especially to the advancement of those branches of science which could not be advantageously brought within the scheme of the seminary as it then existed. It was evidently impossible, during the regular collegiate course, to acquire an intimate and thorough acquaintance with all the diversified subjects of human knowledge. All that could be aimed at with discretion, was the communication to the young student of such varied elementary instruction, as might enable him, in his subsequent career, to pursue beneficially any particular subject of study to which his interest or his genius might incline him. But there are many branches of science both ornamental and useful, which, even with the aid afforded by this elementary instruction, are still attended with so many difficulties, that the learner is apt to be discouraged at the threshold, and to turn away his steps towards some object of more easy attainment, but less honourable in the pursuit, and less advantageous in possession. These difficulties, consisting often in the want of practical and experimental illustrations of the facts and deductions of science, may be removed or greatly diminished by courses of lectures, delivered by well qualified professors, with the assistance of extensive cabinets of specimens, and a suitable apparatus. This remark is particularly applicable to those branches of knowledge which are designated by the general title of natural science. As the means requisite for the proper illustration of these subjects are often beyond the resources of individuals, it was thought by the board, that by constituting a faculty of professors, and affording them such facilities in the prosecution of their several courses of instruction as might be within the power of the university, they would be contributing towards the public good, and at the same time elevating the character of the institution over which

they presided. A department of natural science was accordingly created, embracing five professorships, which were immediately filled by the choice of men recommended either by their general talent, or by their peculiar fitness for the offices to which they were appointed. The duty of the professors was to give annual courses of lectures to the public, for which their remuneration was to consist in the fees of the attendants; and the advantages which they derived from the university, beside the honour of the connexion, were the gratuitous use of suitable apartments, and access to the apparatus belonging to the institution. Though the rule demanding annual courses has not been exactly complied with by all the gentlemen who have accepted professorships in this department, yet on the more important and popular subjects lectures have been regularly given, in some instances, to numerous classes; and the general result, if not so favourable as might have been anticipated, has been such as fully to justify the original adoption of the measure, and to give rise to the hope that much good may flow from it hereafter.

CHAPTER XIV.

STATE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE YEAR 1827.

IN order to complete the view which it is the object of this essay to lay before the public, it will be necessary to give an account of the arrangement and condition of the several departments of the university, as they exist at the present time.* If in the execution of this task, some facts which are already familiar should be again brought into notice, it is hoped that the advantages to be derived from the integrity of the picture, will overbalance the irksomeness of the repetition.

The institution is under the control of a board of trustees, composed of twenty-four citizens of Pennsylvania, together with the governor of the state, who is *ex officio* president. This board is perpetual; and, in the exercise of its authority, is subject to no other limitations than such as are fixed by the several charters under which it acts. For the transaction of business a stated meeting is held every month, and special meetings are occasionally called when any important matter demands immediate attention; but, as in the management of so extensive an establishment, there are many objects which require a constant and vigilant superintendence,

* It will be recollected by the reader, that the period here alluded to was the year 1827, when this account of the university was prepared. In any instance in which material alterations have been made since that period, the fact will be stated in a note, with the present date.—*January, 1834.*

the board divides itself into standing committees, to each of which some particular province is ascribed for its especial charge. The duties of secretary and treasurer are performed by an officer appointed by the board, who is compensated by a regular salary and a small commission upon the revenues of the institution.*

The university is nominally divided into five distinct departments, those, namely, of the ARTS AND SCIENCES, OF NA-

* The names of all those who filled the office of trustee, from the origin of the school to the period at which the college and university were united, have been mentioned in previous notes. Those elected since that period, whose places have been vacated by death or resignation, are the following:—

Alexander James Dallas, Joseph B. M'Kean, Joseph Ball, Samuel M. Fox, Thomas M. Willing, Moses Levy, John T. Mifflin, John H. Brinton, John R. Cox, Anthony Morris, Thomas M. Francis, William Tilghman late chief justice of Pennsylvania, Rev. James P. Wilson, George Fox, Zaccheus Collins, Thomas Duncan, Rev. Jacob J. Janeway, Robert Walsh jr., Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, and Rev. Thomas M'Auley.

The following gentlemen, exclusive of the governor of the state, compose the board, at the date of this note:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Right Rev. William White, D. D., | 13. Charles Chauncey, L. L. D., |
| 2. William Rawle, L. L. D., | 14. Joseph Hopkinson, L. L. D., |
| 3. Benjamin R. Morgan, | 15. Joseph R. Ingersoll, |
| 4. James Gibson, | 16. Rev. Philip F. Mayer, D. D., |
| 5. Horace Binney, L. L. D., | 17. Philip H. Nicklin, |
| 6. William Meredith, | 18. Rt. Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, D. D., |
| 7. Benjamin Chew, | 19. John C. Lowber, |
| 8. Robert Waln, | 20. James S. Smith, |
| 9. John Sergeant, L. L. D., | 21. Edward S. Burd, |
| 10. Thomas Cadwalader, | 22. John Keating, |
| 11. Peter S. Duponceau, L. L. D., | 23. George Vaux, |
| 12. Nicholas Biddle. | 24. Rev. William H. De Lancey, D. D. |

The reader acquainted with the general history of the Union, and the particular history of this state, will have observed, that, at every period of the existence of the school, the board of trustees has been remarkable for the number of its members distinguished in politics, literature, science, and the liberal professions; and a glance at the list of its present members will satisfy

TURAL SCIENCE, OF GENERAL LITERATURE, OF LAW, AND OF MEDICINE.

1. DEPARTMENT OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.—This department consists of three parts, the *college*, the *academy* or *grammar schools*, and the *charity schools*.

The *college* is under the immediate government of a faculty, composed of four professors and a tutor, to whom, beside the business of instruction, are committed the duties of administering the general discipline of the seminary, and of representing to the trustees, in semi-annual reports, the exact condition both of the collegiate and academical classes.*

him that it has not degenerated. We may, indeed, be proud as Philadelphians, that our city has been able to afford so many distinguished names as are to be found in the catalogue of those who have at different times directed the affairs of the college and university. The office of treasurer and secretary is now occupied by James C. Biddle, who succeeded Joseph Reed, late recorder of the city.—*January, 1834.*

* Some alterations have been made in the arrangement of the faculty of arts since the year 1827. The four professorships remain as before; but an assistant professorship has been added. The office of tutor, referred to in the text, was also made an assistant professorship, which has, however, been recently abolished. In 1827, when this memoir was written, the members of the faculty were Rev. Frederick Beasley, D. D., provost and professor of natural philosophy; Robert M. Patterson, M. D., vice-provost and professor of natural philosophy; James G. Thompson, professor of languages; and Garret Van Gelder, tutor. The professorship of mathematics, which was then vacant, was soon afterwards supplied by the election of Robert Adrain, L. L. D. It is well known that, since the period above mentioned, great changes have taken place in the faculty, so that not one of those who then occupied chairs is now connected with the institution. The faculty of arts at present consists of the following members:—

Rev. William H. De Lancey, D. D., acting Professor of Moral Philosophy, and acting Provost of the University;

Robert Adrain, L. L. D., Professor of Mathematics and Vice-provost of the University;

Rev. Samuel B. Wylie, D. D., Professor of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Languages;

Alexander Dallas Bache, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry;

Henry Reed, Assistant Professor of Moral Philosophy.

The offices of provost and vice-provost of the university are held respectively by two of these professors. It is the duty of the provost, and in his absence of the vice-provost, "to visit and superintend the various schools and departments; to see that the rules and statutes of the trustees are duly carried into effect; and to advise and suggest such alterations and improvements as he may deem best calculated to promote the welfare and usefulness of the institution."

The compensation of the professors, if not ample, is at least respectable. Beside a fixed salary, which to the provost is one thousand dollars, to the vice-provost nine hundred, and to each of the other professors about eight hundred and fifty, they severally have the use of one of the houses belonging to the university, or an equivalent sum in money, and divide equally between them the proceeds of tuition. They are moreover entitled to a small sum from every graduate in the arts; and the provost and vice-provost derive a considerable addition to their income from the fees which they receive upon affixing their signatures to the medical diplomas.*

The number of classes is four, distinguished by the usual titles of *freshman*, *sophomore*, *junior*, and *senior*. One year is appropriated to each class; so that the whole college

With the exception of Mr. Reed, these gentlemen immediately succeeded those above mentioned, as filling the same offices. The predecessor of Mr. Reed, and the first assistant professor of moral philosophy was the late Rev. Edward Rutledge. Thomas M^oKinley and the Rev. Christian F. Cruse, successively after M. Van Gelder, held the place of tutor or assistant professor, now abolished.

Dr. De Lancey has resigned his station in the university, but continues to occupy it temporarily, till a successor can be provided. The Rev. Philip Lindsley, D. D., has been elected, but has not yet signified his acceptance of the office.—*January, 1834.*

* The mode of compensating the professors has undergone some alteration since this was written. They now receive a fixed salary without any share of the tuition money.—*January, 1834.*

term extends to four years. The requisites for admission into the lowest or freshman class are, that the applicant should not be under the age of fourteen; that he should have been taught arithmetic, and the rudiments of geography; and that he should have read, in the Latin language, Virgil, Sallust, and the Odes of Horace; in the Greek, the New Testament, Lucian's Dialogues, Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and the *Græca Minora* of Dalzel. The course of study embraces the highest Greek and Latin classics, with Grecian and Roman antiquities; the mathematics from algebra to fluxions; natural philosophy, chemistry, and geography in all its branches; ancient and modern history, grammar, rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy, and metaphysics. The students are also exercised in writing Greek and Latin, in English composition, and in the art of speaking.*

* Since the year 1827, considerable changes have been made in the course of instruction, which is believed at present to be as comprehensive as that pursued in any similar institution in the United States. The following regulations are extracted from the Catalogue of the University, published by order of the trustees in January, 1834.

"To be admitted into the Freshman Class, a student must be at least fourteen years of age. He must be qualified for examination on the following subjects and authors:—*Latin*. Cæsar, Virgil, Sallust, Odes of Horace.—*Greek*. New Testament, the Four Gospels, Acts, and the Epistles of Peter. Xenophon, first three books. *Græca Minora*, or Jacob's Greek Reader.—Quantity and scanning in each language.—*English*. The elements of English grammar and of modern geography.—*Arithmetic*, including fractions and the extraction of roots.

"No student is admitted to advanced standing without the fullest preparation for the class into which he applies for admission.

"COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE COLLEGE.

"**FRESHMAN CLASS.**—*Mathematics*. Algebra, including simple and quadratic equations, surds, cubic, and biquadratic equations. Approximations. Converging series, &c.—*Classics*. Five books of Livy. Horace's Satires. The Epistle to the Hebrews. Selections from Herodotus. Latin and Greek exercises. Roman and Grecian Antiquities.—*English*. English Grammar,

The pupils of each class are submitted to semi-annual examinations in the presence of a committee of the trustees; and those who do not acquit themselves satisfactorily, are not allowed to proceed.

(Lowth's English Grammar) and Geography reviewed. Ancient History, (Lardner's Outlines of History.) Readings in Prose and Poetry. Written Translations from ancient authors. Declamation.

"**SOPHOMORE CLASS.**—*Mathematics.* Elements of Geometry, (Legendre's Geometry.) Logarithms. Plane Trigonometry. Surveying, Mensuration, &c.—*Classics.* Cicero de Oratore. Terence. Cicero's Orations. Horace's Epistles. Selections from Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Lysias, Isocrates, Plato and Ælian, Homer's Iliad, Latin and Greek exercises.—*Nat. Philosophy.* Elements of Mechanics, (Library of Useful Knowledge, or Lardner's Mechanics and Hydrostatics.)—*English.* History, (Mackintosh's History of England.) Rhetoric, (Whately's Rhetoric.) English composition. Declamation.

"**JUNIOR CLASS.**—*Mathematics.* Spherical Geometry and Trigonometry. Perspective Geography, including the Use of the Globes and Construction of Maps and Charts. Analytical Geometry, including conic sections, (Young's Analytical Geometry.) Elements of the Differential Calculus, with applications, (Young's Differential Calculus.)—*Classics.* Art of Poetry. Juvenal. Quintilian's Institute. Review of Selected Odes of Horace. Cicero de Officiis. Selections from the Odyssey, Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Pindar, &c.—*Nat. Philosophy and Chemistry.* General doctrines of equilibrium and motion. Equilibrium and motion of solids and fluids, (Cambridge Mechanics.) Theory and Construction of Machines, (Application of Descriptive Geometry.)—Heat, (Turner's Chemistry.) Electricity, including Galvinism. Magnetism. Electro-magnetism, (Roget in Library of Useful Knowledge.) Philosophy of Chemistry, Inorganic Chemistry commenced. (Turner's Chemistry.)—*English.* History continued. Moral Philosophy. Logic, (Whately's Logic.) English compositions. Written discussions.

"**SENIOR CLASS.**—*Mathematics.* Elements of the Integral Calculus, with applications. Variations of Lagrange. Analytical Mechanics, (Young's Analytical Mechanics, and Lectures.)—*Classics.* Former authors reviewed or completed. Longinus. Tacitus.—*Nat. Philosophy and Chemistry.* Astronomy, (Gummere's Astronomy.) Optics, (Brewster's Optics.) Steam-engine, (Lardner on the Steam-engine and lectures.) Inorganic Chemistry completed. Organic Chemistry, (Turner's Chemistry.)—*English.* Evidences

Punishments are confined to private or public admonition or reproof, degradation, suspension, dismissal, and expulsion. All but the two last may be inflicted by order of a majority of the faculty:—these, as they are the most serious, and are liable to affect injuriously the character and future prospects of the young man, require the sanction of the board. Between the punishments of dismissal and expulsion there is this difference, that after the former a student may be reinstated by a vote of the trustees, while the latter totally disqualifies him for readmission into the institution, and for receiving any of its honours. The board, however, do

of Natural and Revealed Religion. Intellectual Philosophy. Law of Nations and Political Law, (Kent's Commentaries.) English composition. Forensic discussions.

“On every Saturday members of the Senior Class deliver original essays in the chapel.

“*French, Spanish, and German*, may be pursued, if required by parents.

“On each day of the week, except Saturday, there are not more than four nor less than three recitations of one hour each for every class. On Saturday each class recites once.

“All the classes, except the Senior class, recite both in the morning and afternoon.

“The instructions of the college are conveyed in part by lectures, but principally by the study of the most approved text books, aided by the explanations of the professors. The diligence of the student is tested by rigid daily examinations. The character of each recitation is recorded, and the results communicated to parents or guardians in the middle or at the end of each term. At the end of each term, public examinations of the classes are held by the faculty; and the students are classed in the order of merit.

“Defective students are not allowed to proceed to a higher class, and incompetent students are dismissed from the institution.

“Negligent and indolent students are transferred to a lower class when unable to proceed with the studies of their own class.”

Instruction in the French, Spanish, and German languages, is given to those students who may desire it, by teachers appointed by the trustees.—*January, 1834.*

not call upon other schools to exclude the students who may have been expelled from their own; nor, though more than once invited to come into an agreement to this effect, do they consider themselves bound to refuse admittance to those who may have incurred expulsion elsewhere; but reserving to themselves the privilege of judging of the circumstances of each case, decide according to their own opinion of its merits. That disposition which would fix an indelible mark of disgrace upon the forehead of a young man, however guilty, and would shut up against him the path of repentance and returning honour, savours rather of revenge and persecution, than of that spirit of beneficence which chastens only for good; and it is placing too much power in the hands of any set of men, other than the public tribunals of the country, to enable them, whether from a sense of justice, or from any worse motive, for ever to cut off from the youth who may have incurred their displeasure, all access to the fountains of instruction, and thus perhaps to blast prospects which may have opened upon him with the fullest and brightest promise.

The price of tuition in the collegiate classes is sixty dollars for one year, more than five times the amount demanded by the college before the revolution.*

Two scholarships have been founded upon the funds of the institution, the right of nomination to which belongs to the heirs of Thomas Penn. This arrangement originated in the conditions of the grant, made by that gentleman to the late college and academy, of his fourth part of the manor of Perkasié. In the deed of conveyance, dated July 21st, 1759, it was provided that the trustees should never dispose of their interest in the estate, and that when the income from it should amount to two hundred pounds per annum, they

* The price is now twenty-five dollars for each term, or seventy-five dollars a year.—*January, 1834.*

should educate, maintain, and clothe two persons of the nomination of the grantors or his heirs; and it was also provided, that if these conditions should not be complied with, or in case of a dissolution of the corporation, the land should revert to the original owner or to those who might represent him. The number of acres was about two thousand five hundred, and the rent at the period of the conveyance was forty-three pounds. In the year 1813 the rent is stated at more than six hundred bushels of wheat; an increase which strikingly exemplifies the great nominal rise in the value of property. It appears from the minutes of the board of trustees, that they had always been desirous of selling this land, as the sum which it would command might be invested so as to produce an income far greater in amount than any rent which could be obtained. But as the sanction of the proprietor was necessary before a sale could be made, and upon application from the trustees he expressed his unwillingness to give the desired permission, the design was dropped for the time, and the lands remained as before. Several partial efforts were afterwards made, which either ended in the appointment of committees, or failed from a want of proper attention in the progress of the affair. At length, in the year 1816, the board determined to exert themselves for the attainment of the object; and, as a preliminary measure, passed a resolution pledging the income of the university for the education and maintenance of any two individuals at one time, and of an equal number for ever, whom the heirs of the late proprietor might nominate. Thus originated the "Penn foundation," the establishment of which was merely the transfer of an obligation before attached to the possession of the Perkasié lands, to the general funds of the university; and was very properly considered by the board as a necessary proceeding on their part, before permission to sell these lands could be decently requested. Application being now made to John Penn, the

descendent and heir of Thomas Penn, a release of the condition annexed to the original grant was readily obtained; and in the year 1817 the whole estate was sold for the sum of sixty thousand five hundred dollars, a portion of which was paid in cash, and the remainder secured by bond and mortgage. It has been mentioned on a former occasion, that the purchasers were unable to meet their engagements; and that much of the property has in consequence reverted to the university.

Connected with the collegiate department of the university is a library, which, though not very extensive, contains many rare and highly valuable works. The donation of the king of France, and the bequest of Dr. M'Dowell have already been alluded to. Presents for the library have been received from other sources: among them may be mentioned a number of Bengalee books from the Rev. Wm. Carey, baptist missionary in India. Appropriations are occasionally made by the trustees for its increase; and a standing committee, in whose charge it has been placed, are directed to purchase, as occasion may offer, such works as they may think suitable, "particularly all publications connected with the past and present condition of the United States."

There is also connected with the same department a philosophical apparatus, which has been gradually increasing since the foundation of the school, and is at present one of the most valuable and extensive collections of this kind, existing in America.*

With all these recommendations, it might be reasonably expected that the college would be crowded with students; but the new regulations, by which it has been placed on its present footing, are too recent to have produced any of those

* The apparatus has been considerably augmented since the period alluded to in the text. I have been assured that it is now at least equal to that of any collegiate establishment in the United States.—*January, 1834.*

good effects which may be ultimately expected from them; and the number of students, therefore, differs little from the average of the last ten or fifteen years, which may be stated at about fifty.*

Of the *academy*, which is the second division of the department of arts, it is necessary to say but little. Under this title are included two grammar schools—one in the charge of the Rev. James Wiltbank, located in the old Fourth Street academy; the other, a seminary situated in the western part of the city, which has long been conducted by Messrs. Wiley and Engles, and has recently come into connexion with the university. Over these schools a general superintendence is exercised by the faculty of arts, assisted by a committee of the board; and a course of instruction is pursued calculated to prepare the scholars for admission into the collegiate classes. The teachers are compensated by the proceeds of tuition, and receive from the university no other advantage than the influence of its name, and, in the instance of the first mentioned school, the use of a suitable room free from rent. The price of tuition is twelve dollars a quarter; and the number of scholars generally exceeds one hundred.†

The *charity schools* are a highly interesting branch of the seminary. The circumstances of their origin, and the

* Under the influence of the new spirit which has been infused into this department of the university within the last few years, the number of pupils has greatly augmented. According to the catalogue published in 1832, the members of the four college classes amounted to one hundred and twenty-six. The number at present is ninety-four.—*January*, 1834.

† The academical department at present embraces a classical and English school, under the charge of a principal, who teaches the classics, an English teacher, and three assistants. The present principal is the Rev. Samuel W. Crawford, who is assisted by Theophilus A. Wylie and William Alexander. The English teacher is Thomas M'Adam, and his assistant Thomas M'Adam jr. The number of pupils at present in the academy is one hundred and eighty-four.—*January*, 1834.

obligations which bind the trustees to their continued support, have been already detailed. From the foundation of the academy to the present time, two schools, one for boys, the other for girls, have been constantly maintained out of the general funds of the institution; and the average number of scholars receiving instruction in them has been about one hundred. In the year 1823, a third school was established under the following circumstances. A citizen of Philadelphia, by the name of John Keble, upon his death in 1807, left the residue of a considerable estate to be applied to such charitable objects as might be appointed by the Right Rev. Bishop White, and other persons designated in the will. Conceiving that the promotion of education among the poor was the most effectual charity, and having full confidence in the stability of the university, and the uprightness of those who had the direction of its affairs; these gentlemen were convinced that they should best acquit themselves of their charge, by appropriating the property to this institution, in trust that it should be kept a distinct fund for the extension of the boys' charity school. The appropriation was made in March, 1809, at which time the estimated value of the property was nearly ten thousand dollars. Most of it, however, being real estate, and not very productive, the income was deemed too small for immediate and advantageous application. The fund was therefore allowed to accumulate for several years, till, in 1823, it had become sufficiently ample to authorize the establishment of a new school, to be maintained exclusively out of its annual proceeds. Thus originated the *Keble Charity School*, which is now in a flourishing condition, containing about fifty scholars. The income of the whole Keble fund is at present estimated at one thousand dollars. That portion of it which is not applied to the support of the school, is added to the principal, and thus made productive.

All the charity schools are "subject to the inspection, su-

perintendence, and control of the professors of the collegiate department and a committee of the board." The children who attend them, to the number of about one-hundred and fifty, are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; and the whole expense of their instruction, including the salaries of teachers, the rent of rooms, the cost of books, and other incidental charges, is little, if at all short of two thousand dollars per annum.

2. DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL SCIENCE.—The present condition of this department is by no means flattering. There are nominally five professorships—those of natural philosophy, of botany, of natural history, of mineralogy and chemistry applied to agriculture and the arts, and of comparative anatomy. A regulation of the department requires that annual courses of lectures should be publicly delivered by each of the professors; but it has been only partially complied with. We have been favoured with highly valuable courses, from Dr. Patterson upon natural philosophy, from Dr. William P. C. Barton upon botany, and from William H. Keating upon chemistry and mineralogy; but the last of these gentlemen is now absent from the country, Dr. Barton has attached himself to another institution, and the professor of natural philosophy is at present the only efficient member of the faculty. It would be a source of great regret, should an establishment which promised so much honour to the university, and so much good to the community, be allowed to fail. The public patronage, however, affords an insufficient compensation for the labour and talents which are requisite for a proper performance of the duties of the several professorships; and it is hardly probable that this department will ever prosper, unless the trustees should be able, from their own funds, to supply the deficiency of public support, by salaries adequate to the services required.*

* This department of the university, which the establishment of the

In connexion with the subject of natural science, it may be proper to mention, that by act of assembly, in the year 1807, a grant of three thousand dollars was made to the trustees of the university, out of the money due by them to the state, "for the purpose of enabling them to establish a garden for the improvement of the science of botany, and for instituting a series of experiments to ascertain the cheapest and best food for plants, and their medical properties and virtues." A lot of ground suitable for such a purpose has been purchased, the care of which, and of the means necessary for its improvement has been entrusted to a standing committee of the board. But the appropriation of the legislature was too small to be efficiently applied without the addition of a much larger sum; and, as the income of the university, absorbed in the support of its existing establishment, will admit of no further expenditure, the enterprise, though not altogether abandoned, is necessarily suffered to languish. At present, the public resources are so deeply involved in the prosecution of measures vast in their extent, and rich in their promise of future prosperity to the state, that objects of less importance are perhaps wisely overlooked. But when the promise of these measures shall have been fulfilled, we may reasonably hope that the overflowings of the public treasury will be largely directed into the fields of science, and that the botanic garden of the university will be among the first to feel their reviving and invigorating influence.

3 and 4. The DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL LITERATURE and the DEPARTMENT OF LAW, are at present altogether nominal. Each of them contains a single professorship: but that of law is vacant by the recent death of Charles W. Hare; and that of general literature, though occupied by a gentleman whose qualifications for the office might safely challenge a compa-

Franklin Institute has rendered unnecessary, has been abolished.—*January, 1834.*

obliged to pay five dollars as a matriculating fee. The price of admittance to the course of each profession is twenty dollars; and the aggregate cost of tuition for two years is two hundred and forty dollars.* The expenses of graduation amount to forty dollars, of which each of the principal medical professors receives five, the provost three, the vice-provost two, and five dollars are paid to the secretary of the board of trustees, which, after defraying the cost of the diploma, is appropriated to the increase and preservation of the anatomical museum.

As young men of high natural endowments, and strong inclination to the medical profession, are often deterred from entering into it by their inability to bear the necessary charges, a proposition was very generously made by the faculty to the board of trustees, that a permanent provision should be made for the gratuitous education of six students, to be selected from among those who might appear most deserving, and most in need of assistance. A regulation to this effect was accordingly adopted, and has now been several years in force. A committee is annually appointed by the board, who give public notice that they will receive applications for gratuitous tickets of admission to the lectures; and at a suitable time previously to the commencement of the regular courses, the several applications which have been handed in are examined and decided on. In every instance, testimonials are required, that the applicant is of good moral character, and of studious habits; that his literary attainments are respectable; and that his circumstances are such as to render him a suitable object of the gratuity.

The number of students attending the medical lectures in the university averages about four hundred and fifty; and the

* After attending two courses of each professor, the student has the privilege of being admitted to the lectures without charge.

annual number of graduates has for the last five years varied from ninety-six to one hundred and thirty-one.*

The degree of Master of Pharmacy was instituted, a few years since, with the very laudable view of improving the profession of the apothecary, which in this city has assumed an importance far beyond what it possesses in other parts of the United States. Any person is entitled to the degree, who shall have served an apprenticeship of at least three years with a respectable apothecary, and attended two courses of lectures on chemistry and materia medica in the university. Advantages would no doubt have accrued from this accession to the original plan of the medical department, had it not been superseded by the establishment by the apothecaries themselves of a distinct school, which, being under their own management, and directed to the one object of advancing the usefulness and respectability of the profession, is naturally more popular, and at least equally efficient.

Reference has been made, on a previous occasion, to the existence of an anatomical museum, connected with the department of medicine. It is generally known among medical men, that the late Dr. Wistar was indefatigable in collecting together specimens and preparations both in healthy and morbid anatomy, with models and other representations of parts of the human frame, calculated to illustrate his course of anatomical lectures; and they who have had the pleasure of listening to his instruction well remember, how delightfully plain and lucid the most intricate and obscure parts of his subject were rendered by his sedulous efforts to demonstrate to the eye, what could not be well understood from description alone. After his death, his family presented to the uni-

* In the winter of 1824-5, there were four hundred and eighty-four students in the medical class. For the last seven years they have averaged about four hundred. The number attending the present course is four hundred and thirty-one.—*January, 1834.*

versity this extensive and highly valuable collection, which was thankfully received by the trustees, and in honour of its distinguished author, as well as in commemoration of the liberality of the gift, was styled the Wistar museum. A suitable apartment was provided for its reception; and appropriations of money were from time to time made for its preservation and increase. In the year 1824 it was greatly enlarged by the addition of the anatomical collection of the Pennsylvania Hospital, which the managers of that institution, with an honourable liberality, transferred to the charge of the trustees of the university, under the impression, that, in the medical school, it might be applied to more useful purposes than it could be, if retained in their own possession. The whole museum is placed under the immediate care of the professor of anatomy, who finds, in its diversified contents, the means of giving greater interest and increased efficiency to his lectures.

In this account of the university, it is believed that all the facts, worthy of notice have been embraced. The reader will have perceived, that in the composition of the whole memoir, nothing higher has been aimed at than simple and perspicuous narration: he will therefore be guided in forming a judgment of its merits, less by the manner in which it has been executed, than by the value of the matter it contains. Judged even upon this principle, it may be thought by some undeserving of the space which it occupies: but it pretends only to local interest; and if it excite among the inhabitants of Philadelphia increased attention to the claims of an institution which is intimately connected with the honour and welfare of the city, it will have accomplished the chief object for which it was written.

INEDITED LETTERS

OF

WILLIAM PENN;

COPIED, IN LONDON,

FROM THE ORIGINALS, IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE HON. JOHN PENN.

Read at various meetings of the Society and Council, during the year 1833,
by J. Francis Fisher.

Philadelphia:

M'CARTY & DAVIS, No. 171, MARKET STREET.

1834.

The Errata in the following pages are owing to a mistake of the printer, which prevented the correction of the sheets before the Volume was prepared for delivery.

Page 264,—after the bottom,—for "Ponnyvania," read Pennsylvania.

286, line 12, for "inquiry," read injury.

line 23, for "am," read were.

287, line 4, for "rise," read use.

288, line 16, for "word by," read worldly.

289, line 11, for "prejudices," read prejudice.

line 26, for "Moor," read Moor.

292, line 11, for "attach," read attack.

There are some errors in pointing, which, it is hoped, need not be hinted to the reader.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM PENN.

To those familiar with the early history of Pennsylvania the following letters will require but few preparatory remarks.

The first is interesting to us not only as a beautiful and touching letter of friendship, but also as discovering to us that our great and virtuous founder, in the composition of his munificent and truly republican frame of government, resorted for advice and assistance not only to such a learned lawyer as Sir William Jones, but to such an honest patriot as Sidney.

The second, an address to King James II. seems not to breathe the same spirit of republicanism—but, besides that he had no reason to dispute the doctrine of Divine Right then taught every where from the books of Law and Gospel—so courteous a gentleman as Penn could not be expected to address his friend and sovereign on his accession with any ungracious doctrines. His later communications with that unhappy monarch prove him a true and bold asserter of the liberties of the subject.

The third, his address to Friends in Pennsylvania on the recovery of his government from King William in 1694, will be found an interesting addition to that series of affectionate letters to the colonists, of which, I hope, hereafter, a collec-

tion may be made from the various repositories where they are scattered.

The fourth, a memorial about Colonel Quarry, will be understood by referring to the documents contributed by Mrs. Logan to the last half volume of our memoirs. Colonel Quarry was judge of the admiralty. As a representative of the high church party here, and as a kind of spy of the government, at home, he wrote frequent reports to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, in which were noted every legal irregularity in the proprietary government, every instance of conscientious opposition to the demands for troops and money, every trifling evasion of the customs. His object, at that time, was to procure the resumption of the government by the Queen, and the consequent exclusion of the Quakers from political power. In the latter part of his life, which he spent quietly in Pennsylvania, he became an active friend of the proprietary government.

The last, a letter to the great Duke of Marlborough, was written in the expectation of a peace, before the humble proposals of Louis XIV. had been, in the pride of victory, so haughtily rejected. The far sighted and patriotic suggestions of Penn, to seize this favourable moment to secure and extend the British Empire in America, must be admired, and it may be remarked as curious, that the bounds he speaks of are nearly the same as those of these United States.

I cannot conclude without testifying my obligations to Mr. Penn for the very liberal manner in which he submitted the papers in his possession to my inspection. On my application to him, he immediately sent for from Stoke Pogeis a box of manuscripts, of which the shortness of my time prevented my making the best use. Other Pennsylvanians with greater leisure, will, I hope, still more benefit by the opportunity he so readily affords. I may add, that the name of Pennsylvania alone is considered by him a claim to his

hospitality. That he speaks of our state with interest, and of his old friends and acquaintances here with affection. And although deprived by us of his proprietary rights and title, he has not ceased to feel an hereditary attachment to the descendants of the followers of his venerated grandfather.

J. FRANCIS FISHER.

TO ALGERNON SIDNEY.

13th October, 1681.

THERE are many things make a man's life uneasie in the world, which are great abates to the pleasure of liveing; but scarcely one equal to that of the unkindness or injustice of friends.

I have been ask't by severall, since I came last to town, if Colonel Sidney and I were fallen out, and when I deny'd it, and laught at it; they tould me I was mistaken, and to convince me, stated that he had used me very ill to severall persons, if not companys; saying, I had a good country, but the basest laws in the world, not to be endured or lived under, and that the Turk was not more absolute than I. This made me remember the discourse we had together at my house, about my drawing constitutions not as proposals but as if fixt to the hand. And that as my act, to which the rest were to comply if they would be concerned with me. But withall, I could not but call to mind that the objections were presently complied with, both by my verbal denyall of all such constructions as the words might bear as if they were imposed and not yet free for debate. And, also, that I took my pen, and immediately altered the termes, so as they cor-

responded, (and truly, I thought more properly,) with thy objection and sense. Upon this thou didst draw a draught as to the frame of government, gave it me to read, and we discourst it with a considerable argument; it was afterwards called for back by thee to finish and polish, and I suspended proceeding in the business of the government ever since, (that being to be done after other matters,) instead of any further conference about it.

I meet with this sort of language in the mouths of severall, I shall not yet believe it; 'twere not well in me to an enemy, less so to a friend; but if it be true, I shall be sorry we ever were so well acquainted, or that I have given so much occasion to them that hate us, to laugh at me for more true friendship and steady kindness than I have been guilty of, to any man I know liveing. It becomes not my pretences to the things of another life to be much in paine about the uncertaintys of this; but be it as it will, I am yet worth a line; and I would pray one of the truth of the fact for the inquiry it hath done me already, is nothing to the trouble it will give me if I have deserved it, and if I have not, of loseing a friend upon a mistake; not that I meanly creep for a friendship that is deny'd me; I am unfitt for it then. I can be but where I was before, not less in myself nor my own peace, which a steady virtue will make a sufficient comfort and sanctuary.

Thy real friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

Address to King James II. on his Accession to the Crown.

GREAT KING,

SUFFER in the crowd, a most dutifull and affectionate subject to condole the loss of a wise and gracious

brother, and to congratulate the fair accession to the Imperial Crown, in which the Providence of God hath so conspicuously appeared, that it hath added a divine to an unquestionable naturall right; in the rise of which I do with an humble heart beseech Almighty God to give the king the Wisdome of Solomon, and the Mercys of David, that his administration may tend to Gods glory, the general good and his own immortal honour.

* Pardon me if I say no Prince ere fell into more unwonted circumstances, nor yet had it more in his power to be always wellcome and renowned; but that being a subject too big for this place.* I have only to pray leave to hope that the kings wonted grace and favour will receive no abate from his greater pow'r to show it
to

His most faithfull, loveing and obedient subject,
WILLIAM PENN.

7th February, 1684.

Letter from William Penn to Friends in Pennsylvania.

Bristol, the 24th of 9th month, 1694.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

MY antient love without reserve salutes and embraces you in the sense of that which has been the root of our fellowship, and of all Gods people, since the world began, in which the Lord preserve us to the end.

By this, you will understand that by the good Providence of God, I am restored to my former administration of go-

* * The lines between the stars are marked out in the original rough draught.

vernment which, I hope, will be some relief and comfort to you that have been exercised by the late interruption upon us. That things are not just now put into that posture as you may reasonably desire, you must not take amiss, for neither will the straitness of time, nor the circumstances we are under to the lords of the plantation, permit another method at this time. And as soon as I can make my way to that which is as much my inclination as yours, (and which, I hope to do in a short time,) depend upon it, I shall do my utmost to make you entirely easy. Accept this part of the goodness of God and wait for the rest.

We must creep where we cannot go, and it is as necessary for us in the things of this life to be wise, as to be innocent. A word to the wise is enough. My return will, I hope, put an end to all our civil griefs, which, at least, I long for, not for any word by advantage, but to discharge a conscience to God and to you, and, I hope, that shall singly be the mark and rule of the remainder of my life, both in this and all other things that may attend it.

You know, I believe, as well as I, what has been a main obstacle, and is still, of which S. J.* can be more particular to whom I have opened myself, that he may do so to you, and whose integrity, I think, ought with reason to be unquestionable to us both.

I cannot tell you here through what difficulties we are come where we are, and I hope you will be sensible of it, and from thence satisfied if not pleased. As to the present condition of the province pray be careful that the charter be strictly observed, and all vice and impiety diligently suppressed. I have named two assistants, that, I hope, will

* I suppose, Samuel Jennings. This paper is taken not from the original, but from a fair copy endorsed by William Penn. This accounts for its not having his name, or his usual affectionate conclusion.

please you, to whom I shall write, by this opportunity, to consult you in all the advice and consent they shall give from time to time, to my cousin Markham in the administration of government.

I had written largely to you by George Heathcott's briganteen, but she was, unhappily, taken by the French, and my letters with the Queen's letter, with the broad seal of revocation of Colonel Fletcher's commission were carried into France.

I just now received letters from London, that informed me that the fleet will not sail until the time called Christmas—so that, I hope, to enlarge hereafter either in this or another letter. * * *

Copy of the Memorial laid by William Penn before the lords about Colonel Quarry.

A brief Memorial of several things complained of, against Colonel Quarry, more largely exprest in the pacquet laid before you—and my humble request thereupon.

1. THAT he has aggravated divers things against us in reference to the laws of trade and navigation; either where the attorney general and judges of England have given their judgments for us, or where we, for the encouragement of trade and preventing of ruin to the parties, have forebore an immediate confiscation of ships, merely, upon clearings or registry by them undesignedly left behind, they giving sufficient security for ships and cargoes, with all demands and damages.

2. That when, upon his complaint of the want of a militia,

and that the people were tried for their lives without oaths, Colonel Hamilton to accommodate that matter gave commission for raising a militia, and to such judges as could take oaths to try by juries that were of the same sentiments. He and his adherents as strenuously discouraged what they had before complained of, lest that occasion they took against the government should thereby be removed.

3. That he has manifestly endeavoured to disaffect the lower counties with the upper, though they first desired the union, to the great disorder of the public, and unspeakable prejudices to me and my family—since they generally refuse to pay their quit-rents, though some are very many years in arrear:—who no longer since than '99 were the people that, in an address to the late King William, vindicated the province against Colonel Quarry's suggestions of illegal trade, and among whom, (if any,) it must have laid, they being the great tobacco planters under that government. But, I must own that when I prest the law we made, at that time, against illegal trade, so much aggravated by that gentleman, they began to soure to me, which was heightened by him, saying; "I was too strait to trade," for he even told me so himself on that occasion; though there was no other way to prevent what he had complained of, in so wide a bay, and so full of creeks, as that of Delaware.

4. Nor is this enough to content him and his secret agent, Moer, who in good measure has had his bread from me, and that at the instance of Colonel Quarry, too; but not having the patience of staying till he received an account how matters went between this board and myself, relating to the government by way of anticipation, at the head of his packed vestry complimented the Lord Cornbury with an address, wherein they hope by their application, they shall prevail with the Queen to extend the limits, (as the phrase is,) of his government over them, that they may enjoy the same bless-

ings with others under his authority. A passage one would not expect from those that pretend to be lights and examples of obedience and submission to government.

These things I complain of, and hope you think I ought to do so. Redress is in your power, and, therefore, I beseech you effectually to apply it, be it for reprehension or advice, or both, that we may no longer be troubled with their little spites to serve private turns.

I am with all sincerity,

Your respectful friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

London, 13th of 1st month, (March,) 1703.

William Penn to the Duke of Marlborough.

Bristol, 22d of 3rd month, (May,) 1709.

NOBLE FRIEND,

I hope my last came time enough for the peace, especially since all our news made us believe there would be none this year, but to day's prints, speaking so very favourably of it, I send this in reference to our northern bounds in America.

The English Empire on the continent lies upon the south side, and we claim to the North Sea of Hudson's Bay; but I should be glad if our north bounds might be expressed and allowed to the south side of St. Lawrence's River that feeds Canada eastward, and comes from the lakes westward; which will make a glorious country, and from those lakes due west to the River Mississippi, and travers that river to the extreme bounds of the continent westward; whereby we may secure one thousand miles of that river down to the Bay of Mexico,

and that the French demolish, or, at least, quit all their settlements within the bounds aforesaid.

The Duke may find at any noted stationers in Holland or Flanders, the map of North America, and see how St. Lawrence River runs east and west through the length of the continent, and that of Mississippi which lies two thousand miles cross the continent north and south.

Without such a settlement of our American bounds, we shall be in hazard of being dangerously surprised at one time or other, by the French and their Indians; especially if they send but twelve ships of war to attack us by sea, I humbly refer it to the Dukes English, Heart and Head, to secure to his country so great a one, and of that value on many accounts, (and no more, I think, than we have a real claim to.)

Forgive the roughness of this, a general assembly of our people, from the country, about this city, so fills me with company and business, that I cannot send it in a better dress—God speed the plow.—Allow me thy good opinion, and believe me to be with great respect,

Thy obliged faithful friend,
WILLIAM PENN.

THE END.



